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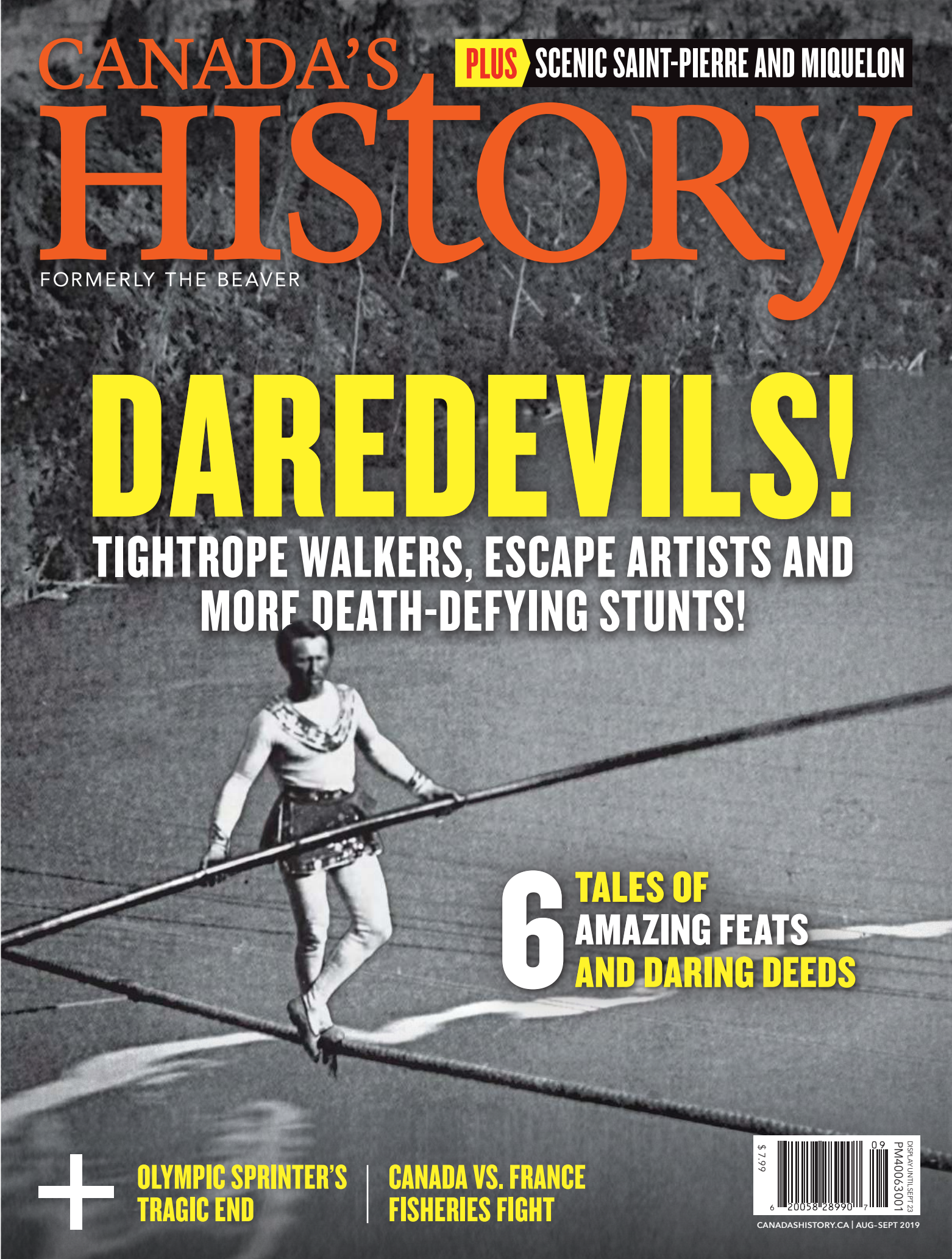

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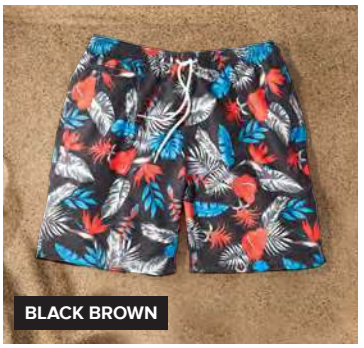

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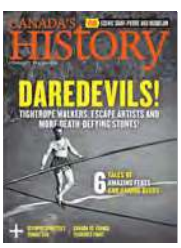

On the cover

Acrobat and tightrope walker Charles Blondin crosses the gorge below Niagara Falls in 1859.

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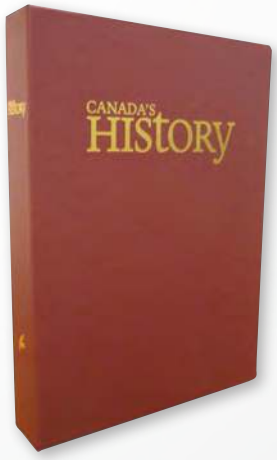

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CANADA'S HISTORY

The Great Farini, a.k.a. William T. Hunt of Port Hope, Ontario, walks across Niagara Falls in the 1860s while carrying a washing machine on his back.

Defying the odds

Back in 1980, a sketch comedy aptly named *Bizarre* debuted on Canadian television. The host of the show was John Byner, but to eleven-year-old me, the real star was Super Dave Osborne, a supposed stuntman played to hilarious effect by comedian Bob Einstein.

Modelled after American stuntman Evel Knievel, Super Dave would risk his life in ridiculous feats that always failed in spectacular fashion.

One of my favourite stunts by Super Dave involved the daredevil climbing into a stock car and then being dropped into an industrial-strength metal compactor. Crushed into a two-metre by two-metre square, Super Dave was still somehow able to calmly conduct a post-stunt interview. Asked how he was feeling, Super Dave deadpanned, "I've got a little headache, but I'll be all right!"

While Super Dave's stunts were played for laughs, Canada's history is filled with risk-takers who engaged in actual death-defying stunts. These thrill-seekers — from tightrope walkers to escape artists and more — regularly risked life and limb to entertain their legions of fans. In many cases their popularity crossed borders, transforming them into international celebrities.

In this issue, we look back at some of the daredevils who helped to redefine the word impossible. Writer Kaitlin Vitt recalls several larger-than-life characters, including professional strongmen, escape artists, tightrope walkers — and even bear wrestlers! — who chased both an adrenaline rush and their audience's applause.

Elsewhere in the issue, we remember the legacy of one of Canada's greatest Olympians: sprinter Percy Williams, a two-time gold medallist from Vancouver. For a while, he was the fastest person in the world, but sadly he couldn't outrun the personal demons that chased him for decades.

We also explore Canada's and France's competing claims over the rich fishing grounds off Canada's Atlantic coast — a tale with roots stretching back centuries.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

Kerry Banks wrote "Forgotten Champion." Banks is a Vancouver freelancer who has won numerous writing awards for his magazine feature work. A former sports columnist for the *Georgia Straight*, he has published or co-published seventeen books on sports and has appeared as a commentator on TV and radio. Banks enjoys poker, exotic travel, and unsolved mysteries. Most recently he has been uncovering dark secrets in his family tree.

Victor Rabinovitch, who wrote "Disputed Harvest," was president of the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now the Canadian Museum of History) and the Canadian War Museum from 2000 to 2011. In prior public-service work, he was the assistant deputy minister handling international relations and overfishing files for the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans, which he describes as "twelve of the most demanding years imaginable." He holds a doctorate from Sussex University (England) and is a distinguished fellow in the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.

Kaitlin Vitt is the author of "Daredevils!" She received a bachelor of science from the University of Manitoba before attending Red River College in Winnipeg to study journalism. Her book *Planted: Stories From Manitoba's Natural World* made McNally Robinson's bestsellers list in 2017. Vitt lived in Ukraine for a year studying dance, language, and culture. She is also the former content coordinator for Canada's History Society.

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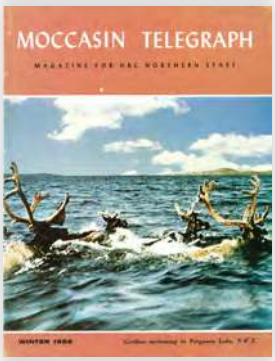

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A Lancaster bomber at Boundary Bay, British Columbia, in August 1945.

D-Day pilot honoured

J.L. Granatstein's piece on the Canadian air force's part in the D-Day invasion ("By Every Means Possible," June-July 2019) seemed particularly relevant.

I had just returned from a trip to the United Kingdom, which included a trip to the island of Guernsey.

While walking on the pier leading out to Castle Cornet, I noticed a plaque dedicated to Flight Lieutenant John Walton Saville, a pilot with the Royal Canadian Air Force 439 Tiger squadron who was shot down on June 5, 1944, while on a successful mission to bomb a German radar installation on the occupied island. Saville's plane crashed into the sea just off St. Peter Port. His body was never found. The harbour at St. Peter Port is designated as an official war grave site.

Vic Parsons
via email

Maple syrup memories

The item "Essentially Canadian" in the June-July 2019 issue of *Canada's History* recalled a moment when my wife and I were on winter's retirement vacation in Brussels, Belgium.

Because we speak French, and wanting to avoid Grey County, Ontario's snow, each winter we arranged an apartment in that delightfully different city for three months.

On one occasion we stopped in a small restaurant for a Belgian waffle — a favourite mid-morning snack. A bit surprised at the note on the menu that it came with maple syrup, we were delighted to be given a small opened can of Quebec-produced genuine maple syrup. Three thousand kilometres from Ontario, in a very much local establishment, it was a heart-warming moment, a touch of home.

Fraser McKee
Toronto

Machine gun mix-up

Regarding the cover of the June-July 2019 issue: What weapon is the man at the rear right side firing? If it's a Sten submachine gun, I wouldn't want to be the man in the water in front of him. The gun is notorious for climbing and otherwise roaming around, putting 9-mm rounds where you don't want them. I doubt that anyone would fire one under the circumstances. If it is supposed to be a Sten, why is the magazine sticking out the right side of the receiver? Last time I fired one, the magazine went into the left side.

John W. Fielder
via email

[Editor's note: Mr. Fielder is correct, Sten guns load from the left side.]

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Inspired by Second World War posters such as the example at top right, Nyco Rudolph has created a poster series that substitutes humans for bears.

Bearing witness to war

Winnipeg artist reimagines iconic Second World War images. *by Kaitlin Vitt*

What would happen if nature started to defend itself against human exploitation? What if the tables were turned and humans had to find a way to survive against an ever-growing and increasingly aggressive force of nature?

These are all questions that have inspired Winnipeg illustrator Nyco Rudolph and his Bears Invade poster series, which sees the artist swap out people for bears in iconic Second World War photographs and propaganda posters.

"There is so much fascinating, little-known Canadian history, and I'm just doing what I can to draw attention to our nation's past through my art," Rudolph said.

While he was working on designs for a bear-themed band, Second World War propaganda posters — featuring bears — came to Rudolph's mind. From there, the idea evolved.

Rudolph began to create a series of posters while at the same time writing and illustrating a graphic novel based on the same idea. He plans to launch the book in the spring of 2020. Rudolph also illustrated Alexander Finbow's book *When Bears Invade*, in which Godzilla-sized bears run amok in Toronto and other Canadian cities.

Stories about humans living in the bears' world aren't new — just look to classics like *Winnie-the-Pooh* and modern graphic novels like *Bearmageddon*. But Rudolph wanted to put his own twist on the idea, setting the story in Canada and focusing on themes of social and environmental issues in addition to military history.

He also recognizes the significance of bears in Indigenous culture. "They are known not only for their strength and courage but as protectors of the animal kingdom," he said. "What better animal to lead a revolution?"

NYCO RUDOLPH, ALAMY.

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

Making a splash

He flies through the air, frozen in place and in time by the photographer's camera. The caption tells that this is Percy Dodson, diving from the bridge of the S.S. *Lady Cecilia* at Bowen Island, B.C., on May 23, 1925. (We don't know whether the splash from Dodson's dive soaked the ship's passengers as they watched from the deck at the right of the photo.)

Bowen Island, located just northwest of Vancouver, is known by the Squamish people as *Xwlíl'xhwm*, meaning "fast drumming ground." The Squamish have fished and hunted there since time immemorial.

In 1791, Spanish explorer José Maria Narváez charted the region, naming the island Isla de Apodaca.

In 1860, it was renamed Bowen Island in honour of the British Royal Navy Rear Admiral James Bowen, who was renowned for sinking a French naval flagship in 1794 during the French Revolutionary Wars. Bowen, however, never actually visited his island namesake.

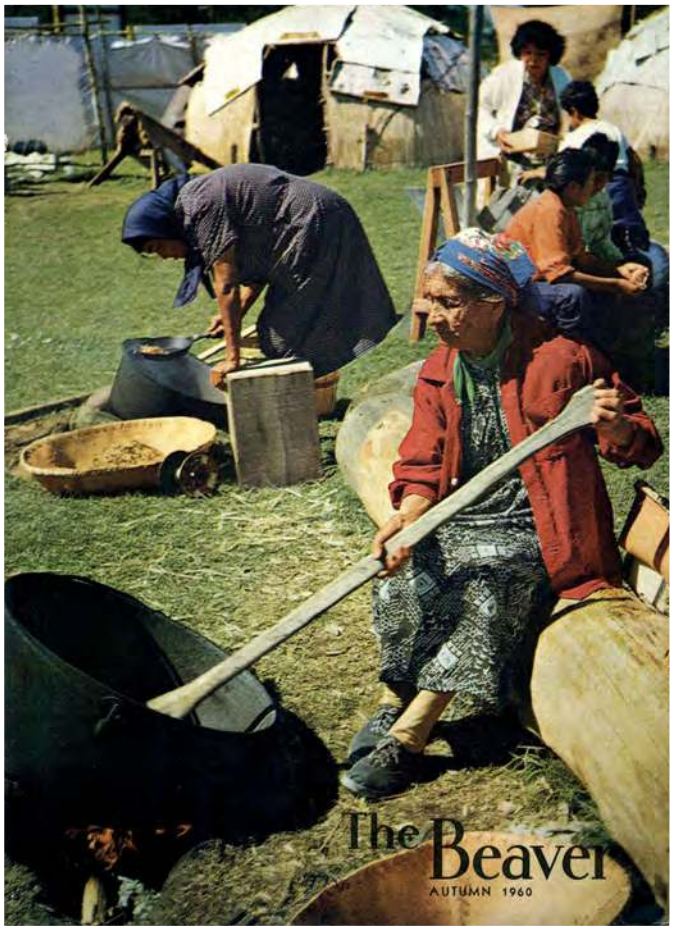
In 1870, non-Indigenous settlers and loggers began to inhabit the island.

With its close proximity to Vancouver, Bowen Island eventually became a popular vacation destination for urbanites yearning to experience nature's splendour. In the early 1900s, facilities such as a dance pavilion, picnic grounds, playing fields and a hotel were built to lure tourists.

In 1920, the Union Steamship Company began to invest in the community's tourism infrastructure, while also offering ferry services between Bowen Island and the mainland. In 1948, Union Steamship was bought out by Canadian Pacific Steamships. Today, Bowen Island remains a popular destination for tourists.

— Mark Reid

ady Cecilia.

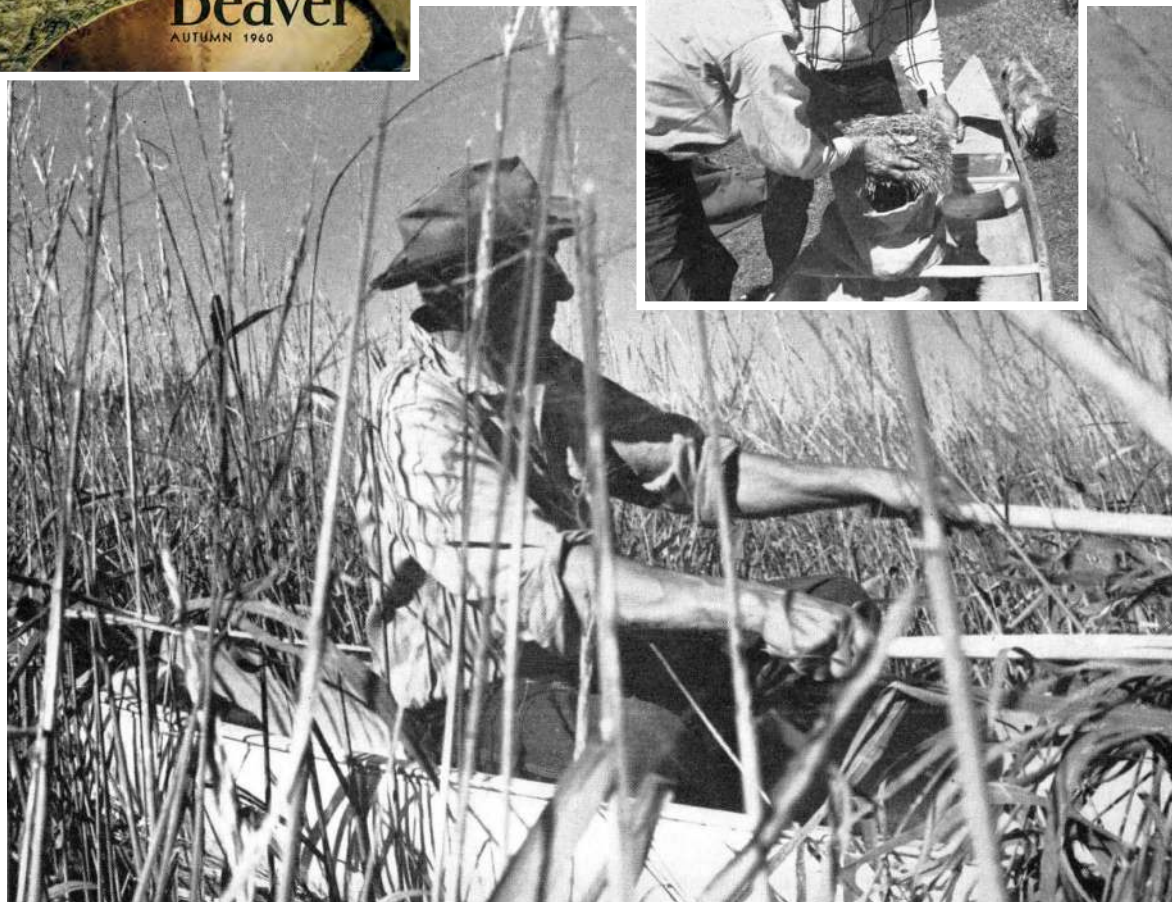


FROM THE ARCHIVES

Wild Rice Harvest

In the Autumn 1960 issue of *The Beaver*, writer and photographer Fred Morgan travelled to the "Great Lakes country" south of the western tip of Lake Superior to document traditional Ojibwa methods of wild rice harvesting.

Morgan explained the history of the nutritional food, which is technically a grass that grows wild "in small rivers and swampy places." Describing the importance of wild rice during the early fur trade era, Morgan mentions a voyage by explorer Alexander Henry. During a 1775 journey into the northwest, Henry wrote "the voyage could not have been prosecuted to its completion" without the supply of wild rice received from First Nations peoples living at Lake of the Woods, on the borders of what are now Ontario, Manitoba and Minnesota.



Above: The Autumn 1960 issue of *The Beaver* features Ida White, seventy-six, stirring wild rice with a large paddle as the grains parch in an iron pot.

Right: George Coon uses two sticks to harvest wild rice. Some grains fall into the water, seeding next year's crop.

Inset: Harvesters John Barber and his grandson Jerome Mike inspect their haul.

Morgan's photos depict the annual harvest by the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa community in northwestern Wisconsin. Morgan explains that "ricing was always a family affair and an occasion for a big gathering."

The rice harvest typically occurred at the end of August. Morgan writes: "Tamaracks have just begun their alchemy to gold; oaks and maples burn with fire against deep blue sky; an eagle soars above a distant hill of dark pines; best of all, the wild rice is ripe and ready to fall."
— *Mark Reid*

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History,* and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Visit **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive** to read ninety-plus years of stories.

Right: An unidentified woman spreads wild rice on a blanket to dry in the sun. This traditional processing method was, by 1960, largely supplanted by commercial processing techniques.

Left: John Barber and Jerome Mike fill seventy-pound bags with wild rice. The going rate was forty-five cents per pound of green rice and harvesters could earn as much as fifty dollars per day.

BY THE NUMBERS

Labour Day

This year marks the 125th anniversary of Labour Day being recognized as a statutory holiday in Canada. This long weekend that includes the first Monday in September is typically celebrated with end-of-summer barbecues or pool parties. However, Labour Day's origins are found in the nineteenth-century union movement.
— *Henrietta Roi*

25,000

Average number of participants expected at the annual Labour Day Parade in Toronto, the site of the first unofficial Labour Day events.

9

Number of Canadian cities that hosted Labour Day-related events before it was designated a statutory holiday: Toronto, Hamilton, Oshawa, Montreal, St. Catharines, Halifax, Ottawa, Vancouver, and London.

1894

The year the government of Prime Minister John A. Macdonald designated Labour Day a statutory holiday. Early Labour Day events involved parades – reminders of the marches for workers' rights – as well as games, picnics, speeches, and even church services.

5

Length in kilometres of the 1894 Labour Day parade in Winnipeg.

Two photographs by Chinese-Canadian immigrant Yucho Chow. From left: Mr. and Mrs. Chong Fan Yow and their sons, Chong Buck Shong (standing on the right) and Chong Buck Sun (seated on the left), circa 1920s. Members of the Hindustanee Young Men's Association in Vancouver in 1929. At the time, many white businesses in the city refused to serve Indo-Canadians. Chow, however, gladly accepted their patronage.

Vancouver's Chinatown in Focus

Early twentieth-century photographs document the lives of marginalized Canadians. *by Kaitlin Vitt*

Yucho Chow arrived in Canada from China in 1902, a time when Canada imposed a head tax on Chinese immigrants. Chow, who was in his late twenties when he immigrated, operated a photography studio in Vancouver's Chinatown from 1906 until his death in 1949. He captured the lives of Canadians who were often dismissed and faced discrimination because of their race.

After Chow's death, his sons took over the studio. But when they closed it they also discarded their father's negatives, not realizing the value of these images of Canadian history.

Today, however, Chow's photos are coming to light, thanks to Catherine Clement, curator of Chinatown Through a Wide Lens: The Hidden Photographs of Yucho Chow.

"Despite the name of the neighbourhood, Vancouver's Chinatown was not just for Chinese. It was a place of refuge for many other marginalized communities," Clement said. "The photographs that emerged are evidence of acceptance: one group — one man — accepting and welcoming others."

A 1940s Yucho Chow portrait of John Fair and his mother.

The exhibition was held in May at the Chinese Cultural Centre in Vancouver; Chow's legacy will also be showcased in a forthcoming book and a digital archive.

Clement learned of Chow's work while interviewing Chinese-Canadian Second World War veterans. "They would pull out their photo albums, and I kept seeing these beautiful photos with an interesting silver seal stamped on them and the catchy name Yucho Chow."

With information about Chow scarce, she began her quest to learn more about him.

Clement soon found photos in family belongings or at thrift stores, and slowly gathered enough images to create the exhibit.

At first, Clement thought the project would focus solely on early Chinese in Canada. But it transformed into a story that included other marginalized communities — including Sikh Canadians, black Canadians, Indigenous peoples, and Eastern Europeans.

To learn more, visit CanadasHistory.ca/YuchoChow.

FROM TOP LEFT: COURTESY ROMA KUZHLER, SIKH HERITAGE MUSEUM OF CANADA; CATHERINE CLEMENT

HISTORY MAKERS

Heroic legacy

Prospecting philanthropist honoured for rescuing trapped miners. *by Marianne Helm*

Ellen "Nellie" Cashman was many things: a businesswoman, a nurse, a cook, a philanthropist, and a gold prospector. Thanks to the actions of a dedicated group of heritage cemetery preservationists, more Canadians will also know her as a hero.

In the late 1800s, Cashman rescued seventy-five gold miners suffering from scurvy and starvation who were trapped in a snowstorm at Dease Lake, B.C.

Recently, the Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria and Dr. Patrick Perry Lydon, chair of the Nellie Cashman Committee, raised money for a memorial stone to be placed at her gravesite in Victoria's Ross Bay Cemetery.

"The whole purpose of the Nellie Cashman Project was to advance and publicize the name and the legend of this wonderful woman," Lydon said.

After escaping the poverty of Ireland's potato famine, Cashman travelled and worked throughout the United States and Canada.

Ellen "Nellie" Cashman

In 1875, while in Victoria, she received word about the trapped miners at Dease Lake, an area she knew well from her prospecting days. Cashman organized and led a six-person rescue party into the mountains, braving deep snow and frigid temperatures and even surviving an avalanche that swept away her tent.

On the seventy-seventh day of their trek, Cashman and her crew found the sick gold miners. She nursed them back to health, saving their lives.

Cashman continued to travel and to work, eventually making her way back to Victoria. She died in 1925 at St. Joseph's Hospital.

In 2015, Cashman was honoured with a monument in her home county of Cork, Ireland. In Canada, Lydon said, Cashman's heroic deeds have been largely forgotten — but he is determined to rectify the situation.

The memorial gravestone, unveiled on October 18, 2017, was placed in advance of the one hundredth anniversary of her death in 2025.

History Makers is a celebration of community-based history initiatives across Canada. This project was shortlisted for the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming.

OBJECT OF INTEREST

Kuukpak comb

This comb was found in the ruins of Kuukpak, a five-hundred-year-old village near the mouth of the Mackenzie River in the Inuvialuit area of the Northwest Territories. The people who lived here were Kuukpangmuit, meaning "people of the big river." Kuukpak had more than twenty houses and existed as a whaling village for hundreds of years.

This intricately carved antler comb (*illaiyautit* in Inuvialuktun) is decoratively etched. Combs of various styles and sizes were found at Kuukpak. They were used for personal grooming and adornment.

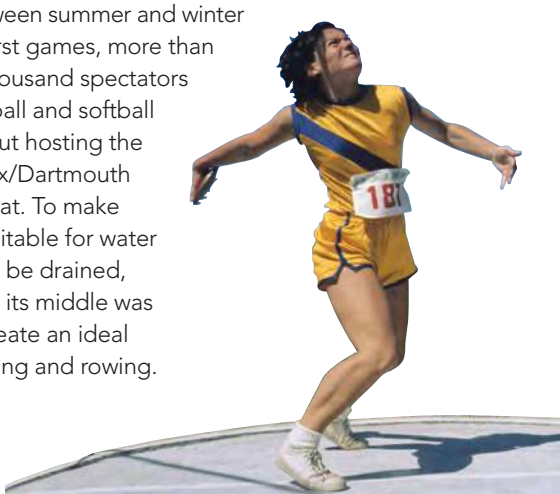
Archaeologists have been working at Kuukpak since 1954, and nearly ten thousand artifacts have been excavated to date. Sites in the Mackenzie River Delta are slowly eroding. Present-day permafrost loss has made matters worse, so researchers are working hard to save what they can before it is lost forever.

This artifact is part of the collection of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories.

MOMENT

Canada Summer Games

From August 15 to 24, 1969, the first Canada Summer Games took place in Halifax and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. The latter was then a separate city but is now part of Halifax. The Canada Games occur every two years, alternating between summer and winter sports. At the first games, more than two hundred thousand spectators attended baseball and softball games alone. But hosting the games in Halifax/Dartmouth was no mean feat. To make Lake Banook suitable for water sports, it had to be drained, and an island in its middle was bulldozed to create an ideal place for paddling and rowing.



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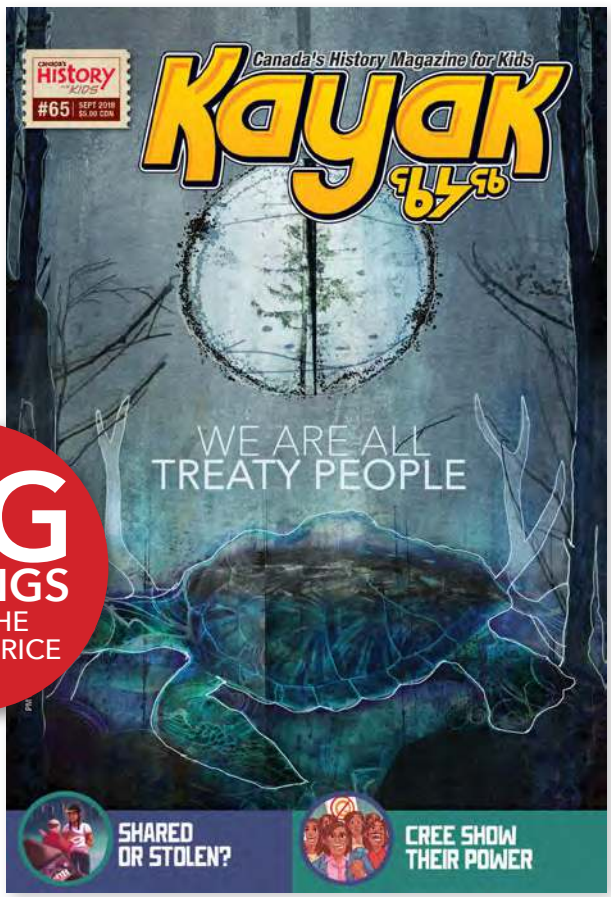

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ARTIFACT FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 61-145) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

Game Bag

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

This game bag, used to carry pelts of small mammals, is made from woven rawhide, known as babiche, and smoked caribou hide. The fine netting allows snow and moisture to escape, which prevents the bag from getting soaked as game is loaded into it to be carried along traplines and through hunting grounds.

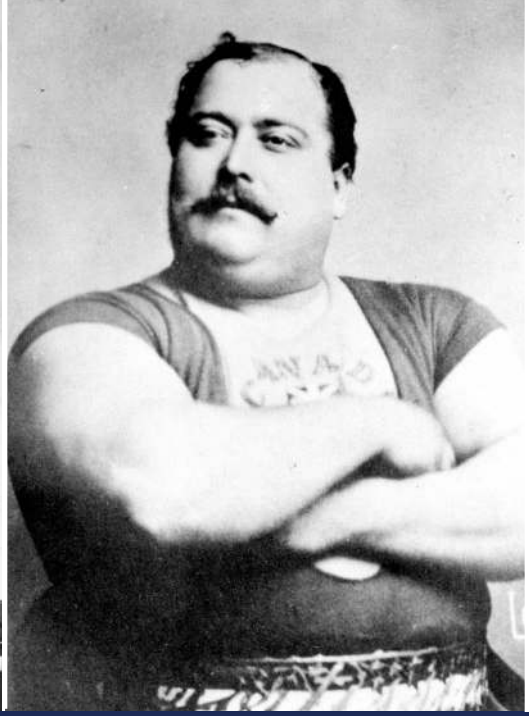
Many game bags are nicely decorated with painted babiche, yarn tassels, and, sometimes, embroidery and beadwork. Like many artifacts in the HBC Collection, we do not know who made this bag, but we know who collected it, roughly where they obtained it, and when they did so. Captain Frederick Mayhew gathered items including clothing, tools, and archaeological pieces, which he likely collected on his journey down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic as part of a Hudson's Bay Company brigade in 1913.

During this trip, Mayhew visited Fort McMurray, Fort Chipewyan, Fort Smith, Hay River, Fort Resolution, Fort Simpson, and Fort Good Hope. He wrote about the weather, what he ate on a given day, the objects he collected, and the people he met during his travels. In 1961, his widow donated the 209 objects Mayhew collected, along with his journals and maps, to the HBC Collection.

— Curator Amelia Fay and assistant curator Cortney Pachet of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**



DAREDEVILS!

Risk-takers and thrill-seekers who made their marks on Canada.

by Kaitlin Vitt

A CROWD OF TEN THOUSAND WATCHED AS a coffin was lowered into the Red River in Winnipeg on October 30, 1983. Inside was nineteen-year-old escape artist Dean Gunnarson, his wrists handcuffed and his ankles shackled. Gunnarson was attempting his most daring stunt yet: an escape from a submerged coffin that was nailed shut and wrapped with chains.

He could hold his breath for two, perhaps two and a half minutes, which he thought would be plenty of time to make the escape. But something went wrong. As the coffin hit the river and Gunnarson took a final deep breath, the coffin didn't fill up with water and sink as planned. An air pocket formed in the chamber, so Gunnarson exhaled his air once more. But this time the coffin went under, without Gunnarson having taken in enough air to allow him to complete his escape.

It's advantageous when time goes by slowly while performing an escape — you get more done in what feels like less time. But this was different. Trapped underwater in a coffin, his lungs filling with water, Gunnarson knew that more time in the river was not to his advantage.

He realized that if he panicked he would die. He abandoned the escape and focused on surviving. He put his hands to his goggles, relaxed, and went into a meditative state. After about four minutes, the coffin was pulled to the surface. Inside was Gunnarson, unconscious, his skin blue, deprived of oxygen to the point that a medical chart would have said he was dead. Indeed, he later described seeing a tunnel and a light before he was revived.

When he regained consciousness in the ambulance, he was unable to open his eyes, but the sirens told him what was happening. He later woke up again in the intensive care unit at a hospital with his family surrounding him and everyone "freaking out," he remembered. Gunnarson didn't understand their concern at the time — from the start, he was confident he was going to live. It wasn't until he saw footage of his failed escape, with his blue and unresponsive body being pulled out of the coffin, that he realized how terrifying the whole experience was.

That cool October day could have been Gunnarson's last — the escape attempt could have killed him, or it could have scared him from performing daredevil stunts ever again. Neither happened. "Failure in itself is just a learning experience," he said later. Gunnarson refined the execution of the stunt, including by improving communication between himself and the surface-level team.

Undaunted by his near-death experience, in 2014 in The Bahamas he climbed into a metal coffin submerged in water. Not only did he have to escape confinement, he also had to evade the hundreds of sharks circling him.

ESCAPE ARTISTS

Dean Gunnarson says he has been inspired by many daredevils throughout history, such as the legendary Harry Houdini and Thomas William Hunt, or The Great Farini, who was born in New York State but moved to Ontario with his family when he was young. In 1860 The Great Farini hung over Niagara Falls, dangling from a tightrope by his toes. The stunt inspired Gunnarson, nearly 140 years later, to hang over Nevada's

Opposite page, clockwise from top left: a horse diver at the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede; strongman Louis Cyr; a daredevil crosses the Niagara River on a tightrope; Karel Soucek enters a hospital after going over Niagara Falls in a barrel; barrel rider Annie Edson Taylor; David McKigney and his wrestling bear Smokey.

Right: Escape artist Dean Gunnarson frees himself from a straitjacket while hanging by his feet from the side of the old Winnipeg Free Press Building in his first public escape performance in October 1982.

OPPOSITE PAGE CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: GLENBOW, ALAMY; NIAGARA FALLS PUBLIC LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS; NIAGARA FALLS PUBLIC LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; GETTY/TORONTO STAR PHOTO ARCHIVE. RIGHT: CANADIAN PRESS.

Escape artist Harry Houdini in chains circa 1899.

Hoover Dam by his toes while escaping from a straitjacket.

Why put your life on the line for the sake of a cheering audience? Daredevils evolved from more tame public performances, explains sports historian Kevin Wamsley of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Spectator entertainment — theatre, strength competitions, public fighting — was a popular form of amusement in the nineteenth century. The riskier the activity, the more excitement it generated.

It takes a particular type of person to tackle such daring acts. Gunnarson, now fifty-five, says he's known since he was very young that he didn't want to be an ordinary person — unlike classmates who constantly tried to fit in with different groups. "I never wanted to be like anyone else," he said. "I wanted to be me." He notes that daredevils throughout history, from escape artists like him to those who tested themselves against Niagara Falls or a narrow tightrope, don't quite seem to fit the norm. Perhaps the drive to be different is reason enough to attempt what most people would find peculiar, even unthinkable. Or perhaps the rush of adrenaline — the ultimate high — or genetics also played a part.

Cynthia Thomson, a researcher at the University of the Fraser Valley in Chilliwack, B.C., has found that athletes willing to take risks were more likely to have the same genetic variance in a dopamine receptor. Dopamine is a chemical with a variety of functions, including signalling the body to move and encouraging people to seek reward through something that gives them pleasure, whether an achievement or a moment of excitement. Thomson's research has not yet shown exactly what the variation does, but she says there is a difference between thrill-seekers and those who'd rather play it safe. Thomson emphasizes that, while her research is consistent with other studies on risk-taking, additional factors such as personality, which is affected by both genetics and environment, can also influence someone's propensity to be a daredevil.

Regardless of their motivation, people have been performing outrageous stunts for centuries. While modern-day risk-takers can edit their escapades before posting them online, their plucky predecessors had no such luxury. Daredevils in early Canada often had one chance to get it right — and risked life and limb to thrill their audiences.

BARREL RIDERS

The ground rumbles as you approach Horseshoe Falls, the Canadian section of the three cataracts that form Niagara Falls. Water rushes down the fifty-seven-metre cliff at sixty-five kilometres per hour, the mist from the almost-deafening churning water drenching tourists who visit this magnificent natural wonder. Niagara Falls can take your breath away … and it can also take away your life.

Since the 1800s, several people have gone up against the falls, attempting to show their strength, determination, and apparent lack of fear. They've dived into the falls, walked across them on a tightrope, and hurtled over them in a barrel.

The barrel trend started in 1901, when sixty-three-year-old Annie Taylor, born in New York State, climbed into an oak barrel stuffed with padding. The barrel was released into the Niagara River, and Taylor floated toward the Horseshoe Falls. After twenty minutes, over the falls she went, and after another twenty minutes rescuers retrieved her barrel. They cut the lid open to find Taylor alive and in relatively good shape, besides some bruises and a cut on her head. "No one ought ever do that again," Taylor declared to the gathered crowd.

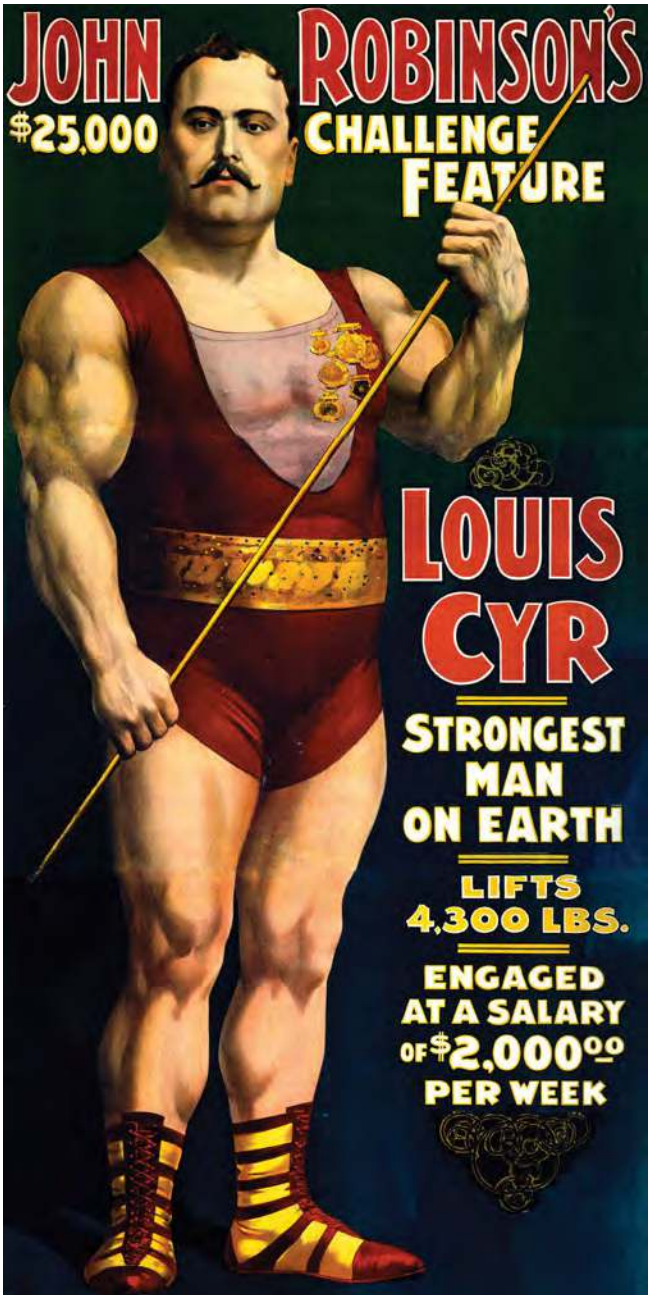
In the December 5, 1901, edition of the *Detroit Free Press*, she explained that she chose to go over the Horseshoe Falls, instead of the American Falls, so she wouldn't be "dashed to pieces on the rocks." Taylor said she did the stunt because she needed money, though fortune never came her way. After a blink of fame, she ended up living in poverty and died in 1921.

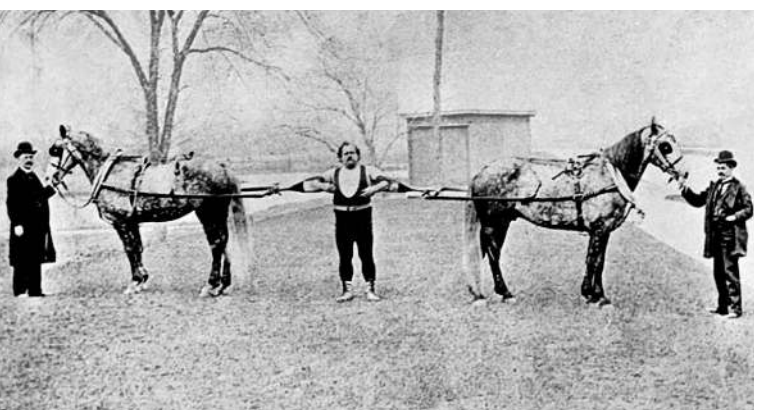
After Taylor, several more people went over the falls in a barrel and lived. But others did not have the same luck, including Charles Stephens, a fifty-eight-year-old barber from England. On July 11, 1920, he climbed into a wooden barrel and had his arms strapped inside. There was an anvil at his feet to help him steer. Stephens and his barrel floated in the river for five kilometres before reaching the edge of the falls. After the drop, the barrel was recovered, and the only thing inside was his right arm. The anvil at his feet went through the bottom, taking his body with it.

Karel Soucek was the first Canadian to go over the falls in a barrel. Born in what was then Czechoslovakia, Soucek earned Canadian citizenship and lived in Ontario. He was experienced in daring feats involving the falls. He had attempted, but failed, to cross the Whirlpool Rapids (downstream of Niagara Falls) while riding a moped on a cable — a harness saved his life — and he also went through the same rapids in a steel barrel.

NIAGARA FALLS PUBLIC LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS

Annie Edson Taylor earned the nicknames Goddess of Water and Queen of the Mist after going over the Horseshoe Falls in 1901, when she was in her sixties.





Top: A circus poster from 1898 features strongman Louis Cyr. Above: Cyr readies himself to hold back two horses at an event in England in 1892.

Soucek challenged nature again in 1984, attempting to go over the Horseshoe Falls in a wooden barrel he had designed. Twenty-three years after the previous person had attempted the feat, he survived the drop with minor injuries and was fined five hundred dollars for performing his stunt without a licence.

Six months later, Soucek attempted to recreate the act at the Houston Astrodome in Texas in front of an audience of thirty-five thousand people. The goal was to drop from the top of the stadium into a water tank below, but the barrel hit the edge of the tank. Soucek died in hospital from the injuries he sustained. He is buried in Drummond Hill Cemetery, just a few kilometres from the Horseshoe Falls. His gravestone is inscribed with his own words: "It is better for a person to take chance from life … than to live in that gray twilight and not know victory nor defeat."

STRONGMEN

Louis Cyr had his arms strapped to four horses, each animal weighing more than five hundred kilograms. The horses were whipped, encouraging them to run. Cyr could have had his body torn apart — in front of an audience — or he could prove that he truly deserved the title of "the strongest man in the world." He achieved the latter.

Born Cyprien-Noé Cyr in 1863 in St-Cyprien-de-Napierville, Quebec, Cyr began entering strength competitions as a teenager, and his talent soon attracted crowds. Weighing 144 kilograms (317 pounds), Cyr could lift 250 kilograms (550 pounds) with one finger; he could hold a platform on which eighteen men stood, weighing a total of 1,967 kilograms (4,336 pounds); and he could deadlift 820 kilograms (1,808 pounds) without bending his knees.

Cyr toured the United States and Canada with circuses, including the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey Circus. A newspaper advertisement in the April 18, 1886, edition of Michigan's *Marquette Daily Mining Journal* advertised an open challenge with a prize of one thousand dollars for "anyone who will duplicate their wonderful feats of strength." The reference was to Louis and his brother Peter. In The Cyr Brothers' Great Show, Louis's eight-year-old daughter, Émiliana, would lift 45 kilograms (99 pounds) with one finger and 333 kilograms (734 pounds) with her hands.

But Cyr neglected his health. "He definitely had a kind of strange obsession with putting incredible amounts of food into his body," says sports historian David Chapman in Historica Canada's documentary about the strongman. Cyr became obese. One morning, he woke up with a temporary loss of feeling from his waist down. His deteriorating health has been linked to Bright's disease, an inflammation of the kidneys.

After taking five years off due to his poor health, Cyr returned for a final strength competition in 1906 in Montreal. Forty-two years old by then, he went up against twenty-six-

ALAMY

American Sonora Carver, one of the first women to perform horse dives, is shown at the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, circa 1926. The horse jumped off a tower about fifteen metres high into a tank of water about three metres deep, with Carver on its back the whole time. Horse diving was a popular attraction for a time, starting in the late 1800s.

year-old Hector Décarie. Cyr didn't officially lose his title of strongest man in the world — he won some matches that day and lost others — but he did announce his retirement from weightlifting. Only six years later, on November 10, 1912, Cyr died of kidney failure.

HORSE DIVERS

Jumping off a twelve-metre-high tower into a pool no more than three metres deep is a pretty frightening thought on its own. Now imagine doing it while riding a horse.

Anna Chevallier and her horse Johnny entertained crowds in the 1920s and 1930s as part of William F. "Doc" Carver's crew. An American dentist turned marksman, Carver is credited with creating this act.

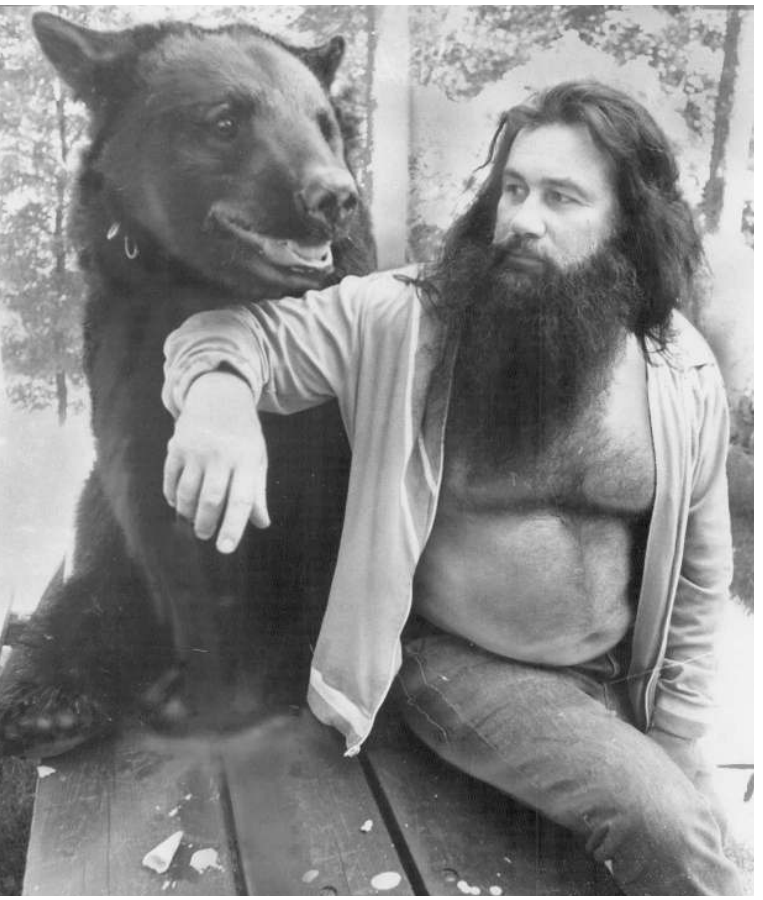
Born in Red Deer, Alberta, Chevallier moved to Alhambra, Alberta, before leaving for Chicago, where she worked in a restaurant. She answered an advertisement for women to perform the horse-diving stunt. Chevallier and Johnny made the cut, and they toured with the other divers throughout Canada and the United States.

There was a formula for the stunt: The horse would walk up a ramp to the top of the tower, where the rider — usually a young woman — would be standing on a railing to get her to the same height as the horse. As the horse passed the rider, she'd jump on, and they'd continue to the edge of the tower. The horse would step off the edge, sliding down a nearly vertical board a few metres long before taking a leap into the pool. After a giant splash, the horse emerged and quickly walked to the ramp or to the shallow end of the pool.

Even though this act revolved around jumping into water a couple of times a day, Chevallier couldn't swim. For the most part, this wasn't a problem; but one time she did fall off her horse into the water. Thankfully, a man — whom she later married — jumped in to rescue her.

Horse diving — either the horse by itself or with a rider — was a popular attraction at North American carnivals and travelling shows from the late 1800s, when the first jump entertained crowds. For many years, a travelling show brought a pair of horses, named King and Queen, to the amusement park on Toronto's Hanlan's Point, where crowds watched the riderless horses plunge into Lake Ontario. The pastime was already in decline by the time animal rights groups mounted successful campaigns against it in the 1970s.

GLENBOW



Seen here in 1978 with Smokey, David McKigney trained several black bears to wrestle with him and other human opponents. He was the first owner and trainer of Terrible Ted, another famous wrestling bear.

BEAR WRESTLERS

Thousands gather at Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens, smoke filling the air as audience members puff on their cigarettes. It's January 13, 1959, and the crowd is here for a night of wrestling. Bob McGrath, a CBC Radio announcer, speaks to fans at home: "Now the climax of tonight's card: the bout between Terrible Ted, the four-hundred-pound black bear, and Bunny Dunlop, another big heavyweight but not quite as heavy as the bear — and without the fur."

The crowd cheers as the bear and Dunlop, a human being who usually referees matches, enter the ring. As Terrible Ted climbs through the ropes, a man jumps up and pokes the bear. Ted swipes the man, chasing him into the crowd. Fans start running in every direction, scattering to get out of the way. Finally, Ted's owner-trainer brings the bear back into the ring.

McGrath tries to read Dunlop's lips. It appears that he's asking if the bear will bite or claw him; but the owner reassures him that he's safe — "although he certainly doesn't look it to me," the announcer says.

The match begins. The bear, his owner holding him on a chain leash, stands on his hind legs, and the two wrestlers lay their hands — paws? — on each other. "They seem to be waltzing around there," McGrath notes. Each goes for a neck hold, but Dunlop ends up on the ground. He stands up. The two combatants circle each other. Dunlop gets Ted in a neck hold, but the bear shakes his head, freeing himself. He chases Dunlop around the ring and then sits, yawning and apparently bored with the whole thing. The crowd erupts in cheers and laughter.

The match ends with Dunlop exiting the ring and Ted in pursuit, pulling his owner behind him. The referee calls the match a draw, since both wrestlers left the ring.

Terrible Ted, a black bear, made his wrestling debut in 1950. He weighed 272 kilograms (600 pounds) and stood more than two metres (six and a half feet) tall. Ted's first owner and trainer was David McKigney, a wrestler from Toronto who fought under the names Gene DuBois, the Wildman, the Bearman, and the Canadian Wildman. McKigney had the bear's claws cut short and his teeth removed and fed him only vegetables. But Ted was still a bear, a powerful animal that would swat at, chase, and bite his opponents.

McKigney trained Ted every day and set up matches between the bear and human opponents all over Canada and the United States, sometimes offering cash prizes to anyone who could pin Ted. Black bears have a lifespan of ten to thirty years, but Ted's wrestling career was about forty years — so it's likely there was more than one Terrible Ted.

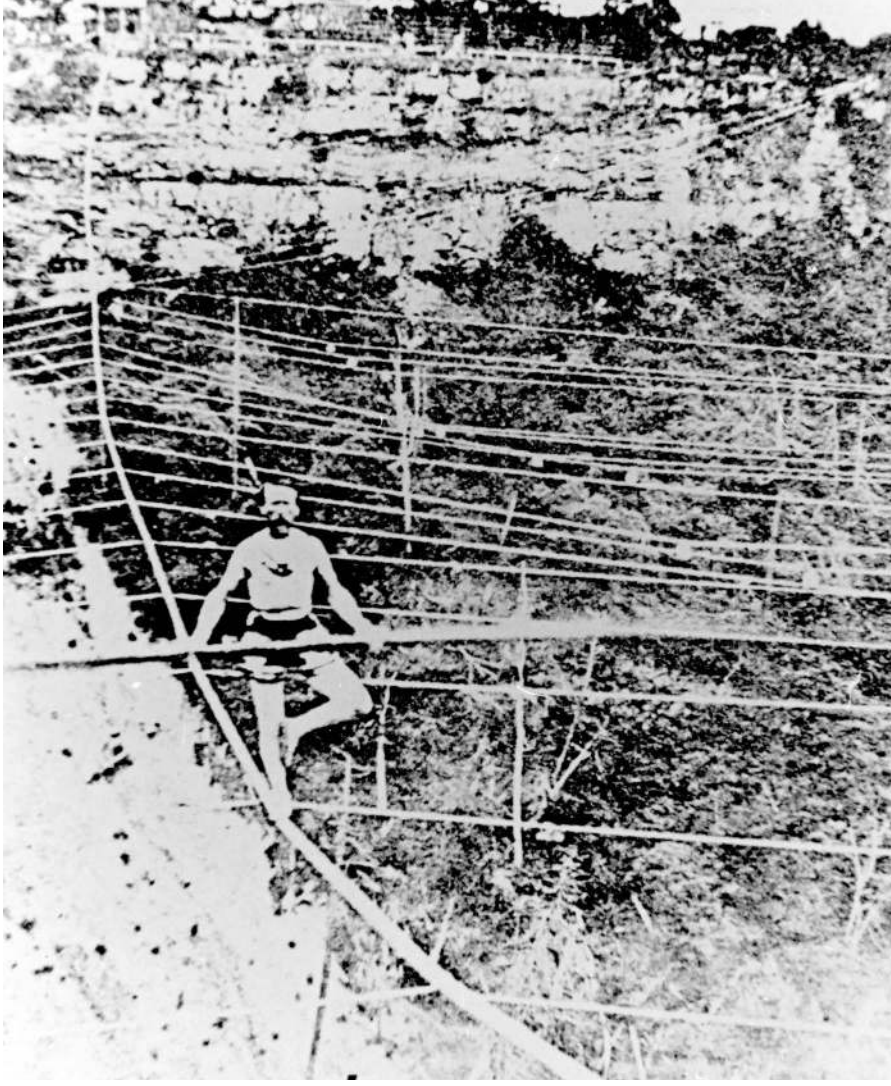
Bear wrestling was popular from the 1950s through to the 1970s. It added novelty to a regular night of wrestling, and it drew in crowds. But, unlike their human opponents, the wrestling bears didn't have the choice of whether or not to go in the ring, and this becomes evident when watching videos of such matches. In a bout between Ted and McKigney, the bear paces anxiously around the ring, reacting only when attacked by the trainer, who at times pushes the referee into the bear. As with horse diving, animal rights organizations pushed to end bear wrestling, although a bear named Sampson is reported to have been involved in wrestling matches in Canada as recently as the 1980s.

TIGHTROPE WALKERS

August 15, 1860, was The Great Farini's day to prove his talent and to risk his life — his big chance to outshine The Great Blondin (Jean Francois Gravelet), who had walked across Niagara Falls on a tightrope the previous year, becoming the first person to do so.

Twenty-two-year-old Farini was born William Leonard Hunt; he later changed his name to Signor Guillermo Antonio Farini. Originally from Lockport, New York, he moved at age five with his Canadian parents to the area around what is now Port Hope, Ontario. From a young age, he was interested in athletics — he was a talented swimmer — and loved acrobatics, but his parents didn't support his dream of performing with a circus. Hunt persisted.

GETTY/TORONTO STAR PHOTO ARCHIVE



Above: The Great Farini, born William Leonard Hunt, poses in London, England, with his protege Samuel Wasgate (who went by the stage name Lulu) to his left and another unknown assistant to his right circa 1875. Right: The Great Blondin walks over the Niagara Gorge on a tightrope in 1859.

At twenty-one, he walked across Ontario's Ganaraska River on a tightrope. Not only did he manage the feat without using a pole for balance, he even took a break from his walk to do a headstand on the tightrope.

Farini wanted to make his crossing of Niagara Falls more impressive than The Great Blondin's, so he used a tightrope that was about 550 metres long, nearly twice the length of Blondin's. The Great Farini was an entertainer through and through. He walked across the falls twice that day — once with a balancing pole and once without one. An August 20 account in the *New York Times* described Farini stopping halfway across the tightrope to lower himself by a rope to a boat far below. He is said to have shared a glass of wine with the passengers on board before climbing up to resume his tightrope crossing.

Farini's daring feat was the start of a continuing game of one-upmanship between himself and Blondin. After his first walk, Farini continued to perform over Niagara Falls, as did Blondin, with each man adding new and daring elements to taunt the other. Blondin cooked an omelette. Farini washed handkerchiefs in a washing machine he carried with him. Blondin wore a sack over his arms and legs; Farini wore one that went over his feet. Farini also repeated his trick of doing a headstand on the rope.

"Blondin made everything he did look easy, but Farini's performances were a torment to watch," writes Ginger Strand in the book *Inventing Niagara*. "His slack rope pitched and swayed and his tricks pushed his abilities to the limit. He often had to stop and lie down to rest, and frequently caught himself from falling."

Though Farini saw considerable success, he also dealt with tragedy. In 1862 in Havana, in front of a crowd of thirty thousand people, Farini walked across a tightrope with his wife, Mary Osbourne, holding on to his back. As they neared the end of the rope, Osbourne took one arm off Farini and waved to the crowd, but she lost her balance. Farini somehow managed to grab her dress, but he was unable to pull her to safety before the fabric ripped and she fell to her death.

Farini tried to perform a few times soon after his wife's death, but he needed a break to recover from the tragedy. When he resumed, he continued to wow crowds across the world. This included performances with his adopted son, acrobat Samuel Wasgate (there are several variations on the spelling of his last name) — known as El Niño and later as Lulu — as well as exhibitions with sideshow entertainers. Farini lived an eventful life as a performer, an inventor (he created the first "human cannon"), an author, and, above all, an entertainer who pushed limits. He died from influenza at age ninety in Port Hope.

NIAGARA FALLS PUBLIC LIBRARY DIGITAL COLLECTIONS

DISPUTED HARVEST

The seas off Canada's Atlantic coast were the scene of centuries of fisheries conflicts that culminated in a major international quarrel.

by Victor Rabinovitch

MARCH 30, 1989: JUST TWO SIGNATURES ON TWO DIPLOMATIC documents and a smattering of media coverage. It was a quiet finale after years of confrontations, secretive diplomacy, arrests at sea, and even court appearances by fishermen and politicians. It also marked the end of a nearly three-hundred-year-long privilege that had given France a special status in the rich waters off the island of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence — something no other country enjoyed.

The signing came after an intense period of fisheries and boundary conflict, starting in 1986, that triggered an international standoff and provoked a federal-provincial dispute that officials likened to a "constitutional crisis." All of this was a reminder of how Canada's former status as a colony could still cast long shadows over domestic and international relations.

The origins of this story lie deep in maritime history, beginning with the fishing expeditions of European fleets in the 1500s. Its legal dimensions start with the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, under which a victorious Britain forced France to retreat from many North American outposts.

French fishermen process cod on board a ship off Newfoundland circa 1890. As part of the "green fishery," cod was gutted, cleaned, and salted aboard large vessels at sea.

GETTY

This image circa 1820s to 1830s illustrates the Newfoundland "dry fishery," which involved building stations along the shore for the salting and drying of fish. The method required less salt than preparing fish aboard ships but took longer.

France gave up claims to Newfoundland and mainland Nova Scotia (Acadia), but its negotiators wisely retained the "right to catch fish and dry them on land" along part of Newfoundland's shores. This seemingly minor British concession, in Article 13 of the treaty, would have major impacts on Newfoundland for centuries to come.

French negotiators at Utrecht had two maritime objectives. First, they wanted access to the lucrative cod-fishing grounds around Newfoundland, together with landing areas for salting and drying. Second, they wanted to continue using the transatlantic fishing expeditions to train sailors for their navy. With British vessels also operating in these prime areas, conflicts were inevitable as fishermen targeted the same waters and shores.

When the Seven Years War ended in 1763, fisheries relations became more fractious. Britain took control of New France under the Treaty of Paris, but French vessels were permitted to continue their fishing activities in their former colony's coastal waters. Those rights were even enhanced when Britain gave France the small islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon "as a shelter" for vessels that came from Europe, serving as a "convenience of the fishery."

A pattern had emerged. France was tenacious in preserving its Atlantic maritime interests, arguing that its rights continued despite military defeats. In contrast, Britain focused broadly on developing its land-based colonial interests, even though fisheries were also important.

The portion of Newfoundland's coast used by French fishermen came to be known as the "French Shore" (or the "Treaty Shore"). Its boundaries extended from Cape Bonavista in the east to Pointe Riche on the northwestern side of the island, bordering fishing grounds that teemed with cod, salmon, lobster, and other species. The area soon became a focal point for serious tensions. Newfoundland settlers demanded that British subjects be allowed access to all parts of the island to fish *concurrently* with French crews from Europe. France, meanwhile, insisted that its fishermen had *exclusive* treaty rights on both land and water. This was a recipe for angry confrontations.

THE STAPLETON COLLECTION / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

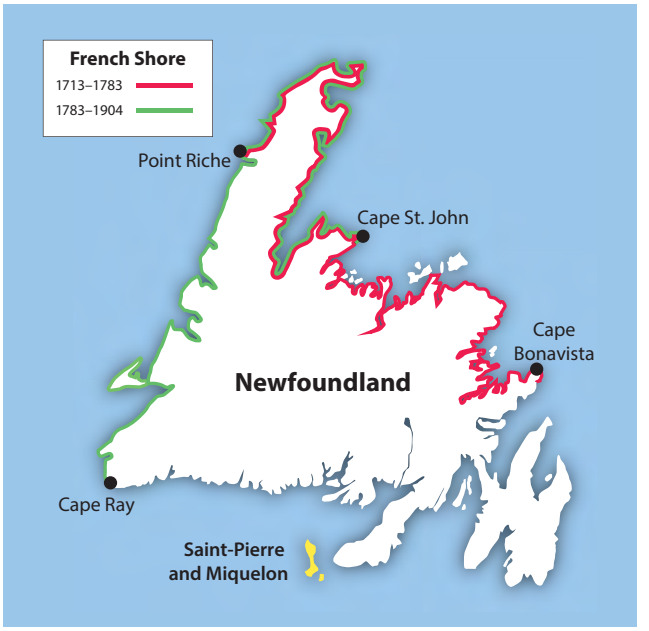
Britain rejected the French claims to exclusive coastal rights, occasionally enforcing its sovereignty by seizing supplies and installations. Nonetheless, in 1783, as part of the Treaty of Versailles that recognized the United States, Britain shifted the French Shore's boundaries towards the west and south to reduce contact between competing fishermen. Britain also promised to avoid interfering with French fishing activities. Through tenacity, good timing, and clarity of purpose, France had again succeeded in protecting its Atlantic fishing interests.

Conflicts simmered throughout the nineteenth century. The metropolitan (Europe-based) French fleet, sailing each year from European ports, adopted newer technology that created more demand for bait and supplies, which were often purchased from Newfoundland suppliers. Larger transatlantic schooners displaced smaller vessels. By the 1850s, an estimated two hundred French schooners, with about four thousand fishermen, were using Saint-Pierre and Miquelon as their summer base.

Many in Newfoundland complained that the French fisheries were competing unfairly, aided by bounties or subsidies. The situation was a "constant source of risk and anxiety," according to Lord Lansdowne, Britain's foreign secretary at the start of the twentieth century and a former Governor General of Canada. He pointed to seven attempts at negotiating solutions between 1844 and 1901, but none succeeded until wider political imperatives came into play.

In 1904, British and French diplomats cemented an alliance to counter a rising Germany. The resulting Entente Cordiale settled various imperial claims in Egypt, Siam, Morocco, and other parts of Africa. One piece on the global chessboard was the complex Newfoundland conflict, in which France's top goal was to retain fishing access for its metropolitan fleet. The British goal was to end the anomaly of French privileges on the shores of western Newfoundland.

A compromise was struck in the London Convention, as part of the wider entente. France agreed to stop using the lands of the French Shore. (This was not a big sacrifice, as very few French fishermen still used techniques that required these shores.) In return, Britain allowed France to continue fishing in the coastal waters near the former French Shore, "on a footing of equality with British subjects." Newfoundland Premier Sir Robert Bond was a member of the British negotiation team. Speaking in glowing terms about this outcome, he predicted that the island's western coast would thrive and that this would "effectively blot out of remembrance that which has been a curse to this country…." Bond's description of previous "humiliation and suffering" underlines how deeply the French Shore conflicts influenced Newfoundland's political psyche, even colouring confrontations that would erupt in the 1980s.



Treaties with Britain in 1713 and 1783 assured access to large areas of the Newfoundland shore for French fishing vessels, while the 1763 Treaty of Paris left France the archipelago of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon.

MATT YATHON

The balance struck in 1904 between Newfoundland's interests and the French distant-water fleet would not be permanent. As the twentieth century progressed, large steam trawlers from metropolitan France displaced older French schooners on the Grand Banks, increasing pressures on fish stocks. In contrast, Newfoundland's local fishery was still based on inshore vessels operating in coastal waters. This fleet — the largest part of the cash economy in southern and western Newfoundland — was essential to many thousands of people.

Political and social pressures were also growing, as the economies of both Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre were badly hit by the Great Depression. But, where the French islands could rely on support from mainland France, Newfoundland had no such backing. In 1934, the Dominion of Newfoundland was effectively bankrupt. Following civil unrest and a special inquiry, its legislature was replaced by a "Commission of Government" appointed by Britain. After the Second World War and a period of turbulent politics, Newfoundland voted to join Confederation with Canada. Thus, in 1949 Canada received its tenth province and also inherited the fisheries agreements created by past British diplomacy.

Profound changes in vessel technology, scientific knowledge, and international law transformed the world's fisheries from the 1950s onward. Canada was deeply affected by foreign distant-water fleets, which mainly used giant factory-freezer trawlers that were decried as "vacuum cleaners of the seas." Fishing outside Canada's three-nautical-mile (5.6-kilometre) territorial sea became an uncontrolled race for maximum harvests. Fish stocks were decimated, leading to reduced catches by inshore vessels and a crisis in coastal Atlantic communities.

Out of necessity, Canada became a global leader in fisheries conservation. Other countries faced similar challenges, and a consensus slowly emerged on a new global approach

Above: The Atlantic cod, which was so plentiful off the island of Newfoundland that it attracted European fishers beginning in the sixteenth century. Left: An illustration published in 1890 shows a demonstration against French fishing at St. John's, Newfoundland.

that led to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. As part of this transformation in maritime laws, Canada, like many other countries, extended its territorial sea from three to twelve nautical miles (22.2 kilometres) in 1970. A year later, Canada announced plans to end foreign fishing in the expanded territorial sea and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Distant-water fleets that had operated in the Gulf — from the United Kingdom, Norway, Spain, Denmark, and Portugal — were given time to phase out their operations, averaging three years. Only one fleet was treated differently: the vessels from metropolitan France.

Not all Canadian experts believed that France should enjoy special status; some argued that the legal concept of a "fundamental change of circumstances" made past fisheries agreements defunct. But the federal government was thinking ahead regarding a sensitive boundary area off southern Newfoundland. The islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, while tiny, could be used by France in the future to claim a large maritime zone overlapping Canada's zone. This would lead to conflicting boundary claims, affecting both fisheries management and exploration for hydrocarbons such as oil and gas. In Canada's view, negotiating a boundary settlement was a strategic priority.

Boundary discussions with France were started but soon reached an impasse; however, fisheries discussions were more fruitful. The core French request — echoing three centuries of experience — aimed at "stability" in Canada's fishing zones, particularly for the Europe-based fleet. Canada said it could extend some fishing privileges, provided there would be meaningful French movement on boundary

ISTOCK; COURTESY OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR HERITAGE / KURT KORNESKI

negotiations. This thinking led to the vital 1972 Canada-France Fisheries Agreement.

All of the previous, British-negotiated undertakings on fisheries were replaced by the 1972 agreement. French nationals would be allowed to fish in the Canadian zone but would henceforth be subject to rules and quotas set by Canada — which would take into account past catches. Vessels from metropolitan France would be allowed an extra fifteen-year period in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Under Article 4 of the agreement, local fishermen from both countries could benefit from "the special situation of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon" and would have reciprocal access to each other's zones. (This was of greater importance to French vessels, as Canadians rarely fished close to Saint-Pierre.) A boundary line was drawn between southern Newfoundland and the French islands to divide their overlapping twelve-mile territorial seas.

Five years later, in 1977, under the new rules of the Law of the Sea Convention, both Canada and France proclaimed their two-hundred-nautical-mile (370-kilometre) exclusive zones. This produced overlapping claims extending seaward from Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre and created a disputed marine area that was claimed by both countries. Problems were inevitable, but they still seemed manageable under the terms of the 1972 fisheries agreement.

International fisheries relations were sailing into troubled waters. It was said that French vessels were routinely under-reporting catches.

In Canada, even though large-scale foreign fishing had been cut back within the new two-hundred-mile exclusive zone, there were fears about the conservation impacts of decades of excessive harvesting. These concerns often emerged as community conflicts between smaller inshore and larger offshore vessels. Local quota disputes added to a rash of financial bankruptcies that affected many vessel owners and processing companies, and these domestic difficulties formed the backdrop to emerging problems with France.

In the early 1980s, international fisheries relations were sailing into troubled waters. In theory, the situation with France should have been stable. Its metropolitan vessels had a large cod allocation in the Gulf of St. Lawrence that was to last until 1986. There was also a French cod quota in the rich zone south of Newfoundland. But reports were circulating around the fishing industry about French vessels not reporting their catches accurately. It was said that vessel captains were routinely under-reporting catches, taking advantage of weaker enforcement due to the boundary dispute.

As rumours persisted, Canadian experts undertook a special review of scientific data that differed from catch reports filed by vessel operators. This revealed a pattern of systematic overfishing: French catches had significantly exceeded their quotas each year from 1982 to 1985, expanding to nearly five times their traditional share, and were taken almost entirely by the large trawlers of the French offshore fleet. During the same years, Canadian domestic catches, under strict controls at sea and in ports, remained stable.

The most difficult chapter in fisheries and boundary relations had begun. In January 1986, a Canadian diplomatic note to France charged that the French fleet "repeatedly exceeded" its cod quotas south of Newfoundland. While using the polite language of international relations, Canada warned that the fleet must comply with catch limits during the 1986 fishing season.

That March, France replied with its own diplomatic note, and a delegation came to Ottawa to lay out the country's position. France said it was adopting its own conservation rules and quotas because its maritime boundary claim, including the disputed zone, encompassed a large portion of the effective fishing area. Moreover, with the imminent end of its metropolitan vessels' access to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, France claimed that it was entitled to compensation through cod quotas elsewhere in Canadian waters.

To Canadian ears, the French positions were extreme and contradicted key elements of the 1972 fisheries agreement. Canada's reply maintained that there would be no compensation for metropolitan trawlers and said that if France stepped up its catches in the disputed zone this would constitute unacceptable overfishing. However, as part of a boundary deal, Canada said it would consider some cod quotas for Saint-Pierre and Miquelon vessels and that there could also be some allocations of other types of fish (less valuable than cod) for metropolitan vessels. The dispute had now crystallized.

When 1987 arrived, tempers were on edge. France complained that reduced fish allocations by Canada were not sufficient. Canada replied that the metropolitan fleet had already enjoyed an extra fifteen years of cod fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence — this unique privilege was now ended, but other fish quotas allocated in Canada's waters for 1987 assured some stability for vessels entitled to operate that year. Finally, as a neighbourly gesture, Canada offered a cod quota for several trawlers from Saint-Pierre and Miquelon.

Would France respect Canada's 1987 allocations? Or would it set its own higher limits, claiming that its fleet could operate freely in the disputed zone? And would France now agree to a rapid resolution of the boundary dispute? These were tough questions with many significant implications.

Above left: For centuries ships ventured from French ports to fish off the shores of Newfoundland, including these early twentieth-century vessels in the harbour of Saint Malo, France. Above right: The French schooner *L'Espérance* at Saint-Pierre in 1933.

Tensions exploded on January 24, 1987, in an episode eminent Newfoundland political leader John Crosbie described as "one of the worst crises of my career." Two Canadian officials had just returned from a secret mission to Paris, on instructions from the Prime Minister's Office, aiming to tie down a French commitment to arbitrate the boundary dispute. To this end, they had promised special allocations to the French metropolitan fleet from Canada's sensitive northern cod stock. All hell broke loose when news of the offer became public.

It's not entirely clear what federal ministers knew in advance of the Paris mission. Crosbie, then the minister of transport and the most senior minister from the Atlantic region, said he had not been informed. Tom Siddon, the federal fisheries minister, was reported to have opposed the offer of northern cod but to have been overruled. Industry and provincial advisors, who were normally well-informed, said they were blindsided.

The loudest opposition came from Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford. "Apparently, when France rattles its swords, Canada bends its knees," he charged. Peckford attacked the promise of a quota of northern cod, as this stock was located far from the disputed zone and was not part of France's traditional fishing pattern. He also attacked the lack of consultation with the province. Though his rhetoric was extreme, his criticism had substance.

The political attacks continued unceasingly. There was an emergency debate in the House of Commons. A national meeting of premiers, convened at Peckford's request, expressed solidarity, though vaguely. And there was a powerful media campaign across Newfoundland and the Maritimes. Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski phoned Peckford to apologize for excluding Newfoundland from the Paris meeting.

Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford fought the 1987 deal on northern cod.

There is a tradition of political rhetoric in Newfoundland that is without equal. It can be majestic in tone, painting images of hard-working outport families struggling in an unforgiving environment. Peckford sounded like a biblical prophet as he voiced his vision of a better life: "Some day the sun will shine and have-not will be no more." He and others looked on the latest French deal with contempt. Ottawa's politicians and diplomats appeared weak and naive.

ST. MALO MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES, CLIFFORD M. JOHNSTON / LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA / PA-056748; DENNIS ROBINSON / CANADIAN PRESS

Crosbie was outraged by the insensitive handling of the negotiations and the perception that France had outmanoeuvred Canada. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, returning from meetings in Africa, responded with a written apology and a clear statement of intent. "Canadian interests, not relations with France, are the paramount consideration," Mulroney affirmed.

After receiving these assurances, Crosbie led a domestic counterattack, aiming to regain credibility for the federal government — and for himself. Crosbie was everywhere, answering Peckford and other critics and aided by a small team that gave briefings to ministers, businesspeople, and media. As the senior public servant responsible for the fisheries aspects of negotiations and enforcement, I lived these issues day and night for the next three years, along with an exceptional team of public servants and political colleagues. It was an exhilarating, complex, and demanding experience for all of us.

Crosbie's vocal leadership succeeded in reducing criticism. But, ironically, it was France that gave the federal government an opportunity to show new strength. French vessels had quickly taken up their 1987 licences, but they did not stop fishing after catching their Canadian quotas. Instead, they sailed into the disputed zone, where Canada could not enforce its conservation rules, and they started fishing again. This was blatant overfishing.

The mood in Ottawa was dark. The government's response was direct and no-nonsense: On March 17, 1987, the ports of Canada were closed to all French fisheries vessels. The Canadian zone south of Newfoundland contains the best fishing grounds, and this area was declared off-limits, even to small-boat fishermen from neighbouring Saint-Pierre. These were exceptionally serious steps. Canada was saying: As you have not complied with our quotas, you will not fish in our waters or use our ports.

Traditionally, it had been France that made demands, held firm, and successfully threatened Canada. But now it was Canada that would not budge, and it had significant leverage. Political leaders from Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, attending the National Assembly in Paris, complained that they were being punished because of the actions of the French metropolitan fleet. Meanwhile, boycotts by workers on the French islands aimed to obstruct the metropolitan vessels.

The standoff continued into the summer. On August 30, during an informal meeting with French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, Mulroney said Canada would appoint a new chief negotiator with a mandate to break the impasse. Yves Fortier, a prominent Montreal lawyer and a close friend of Mulroney, entered the picture.

Among some members of the Canadian team, there was a fear that a fix was in — perhaps one that involved trading fishing interests for other national goals. But the opposite happened. Fortier, Canada's new chief negotiator, was strategic and forceful. Late in 1987, after two more rounds of negotiations, the French announced that they were suspending talks and proposed third-party binding arbitration on quotas.

Newfoundland politician John Crosbie gestures in the House of Commons in 1988. Crosbie led the federal government's charge against French overfishing in the late 1980s.

MACLEAN'S / CANAPRESS / CHUCK MITCHELL

The Canadian side had anticipated this move. Fortier and a team of Fisheries and External Affairs legal experts prepared a response that was approved by a special committee of the federal cabinet. The response involved legal and operational dimensions: Boundaries and fisheries would not be separated. Arbitrating the size of fish quotas would be linked to solving the boundary dispute. The fishery capacity of each country's zone would only be known when the maritime boundary was settled. Moreover, as France had chosen to break off negotiations, Canada's previous quota offers were withdrawn. No fishing by France would be allowed anywhere in Canadian waters.

As 1988 began, both countries vied to assert their authority. Canada stayed firm, refusing to allocate any fish. France said it would set its own quotas for cod and would allow its vessels to operate in the disputed zone. Canada then issued its most serious legal threat: If negotiations remained at a standstill, Canada would consider sus-

pending the 1972 agreement. This was the nuclear option — threatening to obliterate the bilateral fisheries treaty that was so central to French interests.

After several more exchanges involving the two countries' prime ministers, and after France changed its own chief negotiator, informal discussions were held. In the meantime, French vessels were not allowed to return to Canada's waters or ports. "Canada's position has not changed. There will be no French fishing," Crosbie stated with the backing of other ministers.

Newfoundland advisers were suspicious of resuming formal discussions and sought to be present at every possible meeting. The stakes were significant: Some seventy-two south coast communities with a population of about eighty thousand people were dependent on the fishery, with no alternative source of livelihood. Saint-Pierre and Miquelon had a much smaller population, but its representatives also grew suspicious and frustrated. In protest, they staged a symbolic demonstration in Canada's zone on board a historic fishing trawler that had been a gift from former French President Charles De Gaulle.

Over the next half year, the two chief negotiators held frequent unpublicized meetings — in New York, London, Paris, and Montreal. Very few officials were with them, usually only one or two. They developed ideas on setting up international arbitration regarding the boundary, and they discussed new scientific information about cod overfishing. Canada explained its additional enforcement measures to control fishing, including major reductions in allowable catches of cod. While the official French reply was skeptical, the French recognized that similar restrictions would apply to their vessels if fishing resumed.

That November, the two sides agreed to begin non-binding mediation on quotas. Mediator Enrique Iglesias, the highly respected president of the Inter-American Development Bank, would hear out both sides and encourage solutions, but he would not submit a written report.

By early 1989, as the second year began without Canadian quotas or port access for French vessels, it was clear that there was an appetite in both countries for settling both the boundary and fishing issues. Progress was in the air, and it was assisted by the common-sense efforts of the mediator and negotiators.

Two linked deals took shape. On the boundary question, there would be a carefully crafted referral to an ad hoc tribunal composed of five international jurists. On the fisheries question, a small amount of northern cod would be added to Canada's original offer, and tougher conservation procedures — such as onboard observers, frequent catch reporting, and licensing controls — would ensure compliance.

On March 30, 1989, Canada and France signed two legal documents on the related disputes. Canadian ministers emphasized that the agreements would bring overfishing under control, with a significant reduction in French catches. An international boundary tribunal would be established, and its work was expected to take only three years. "We have achieved our major objectives," Crosbie said.

As expected, Newfoundland's new premier, Tom Rideout, who was in the midst of an election campaign, criticized the agreements and said they were "totally unacceptable." The Opposition federal Liberals denounced the "weak-kneed, lily-livered Canadian government." In France, however, the deal was attacked as being too favourable to Canada. "Once again, we've been cheated," said the president of the largest St. Malo, France, fishing company. He added: "Canada has put French fishermen up for sacrifice."

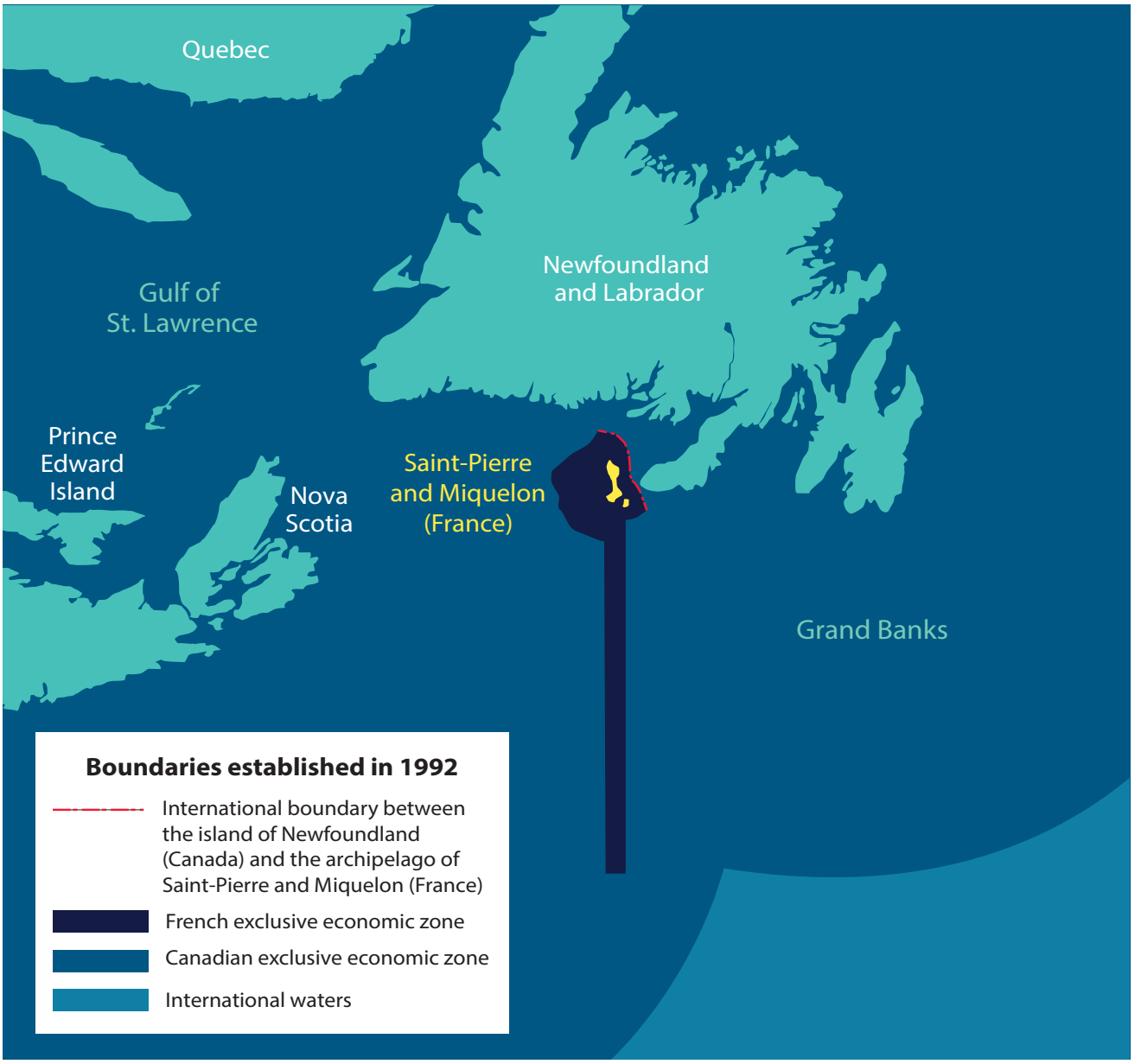
Newfoundland's new premier criticized the agreements as "totally unacceptable," but in France the deal was attacked as being too favourable to Canada.

So what was the truth? Among knowledgeable observers, the deal was viewed as an acceptable trade-off to achieve strategic goals — although no one in Canada liked France getting a temporary northern cod quota. "It is short-term pain for long-term gain," said the spokesman for National Sea Products, then Canada's largest fishing company. Well-informed commentator Jeffrey Simpson noted that "Canada has now got France to accept binding arbitration" and said, "That's worth the price." Federal Fisheries Minister Tom Siddon privately voiced a longer-term perspective that was prescient: He said the agreements "helped us turn a page of history."

After three years of controversy, there was no political appetite for a big signing event. Both chief negotiators had moved on to other responsibilities, and Canada's political agenda was crowded with complex issues like the free-trade agreement with the United States and the Meech Lake constitutional accord. Even regarding fisheries there was hardly time to breathe, as overfishing conflicts with Spain, Portugal, and the European Community were worsening.

The boundary dispute was on a fast track to a binding court of arbitration in New York. Both countries would present arguments based on legal precedents, economic history, and Law of the Sea principles. Everyone agreed that this was a better way of resolving disputes than threatening trade reprisals or cod wars.

On June 10, 1992, the court handed down its boundary


Quebec
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Newfoundland and Labrador
Prince Edward Island
Nova Scotia
Saint-Pierre and Miquelon (France)
Grand Banks
Boundaries established in 1992
International boundary between the island of Newfoundland (Canada) and the archipelago of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon (France)
French exclusive economic zone
Canadian exclusive economic zone
International waters

After Canada and France ended their dispute in 1989, an international arbitration panel established new boundaries in 1992 that included exclusive economic zones for each country.

decision. France received a zone of 3,600 square nautical miles (12,350 square kilometres), a modest one fifth of its claim. The new French zone extended twenty-four nautical miles (44.4 kilometres) south and west from the islands, and it included a corridor about ten nautical miles (18.5 kilometres) wide extending south two hundred nautical miles (370 kilometres). This limited French zone reflected Canada's position as the primary coastal state. Canada's waters also held about ninety per cent of the resident fish stocks, notably cod. The only exception was that about half of the local scallop stock was in the French zone.

Following the boundary decision, there was a difficult transition to the new maritime zones, with protests and the arrests of fisheries workers from both countries. However, late in 1994 a ten-year agreement was negotiated to formalize regional relations between Saint-Pierre and nearby Canadian communities. This led to greater stability, reciprocal fishery arrangements, and co-operation in other economic areas.

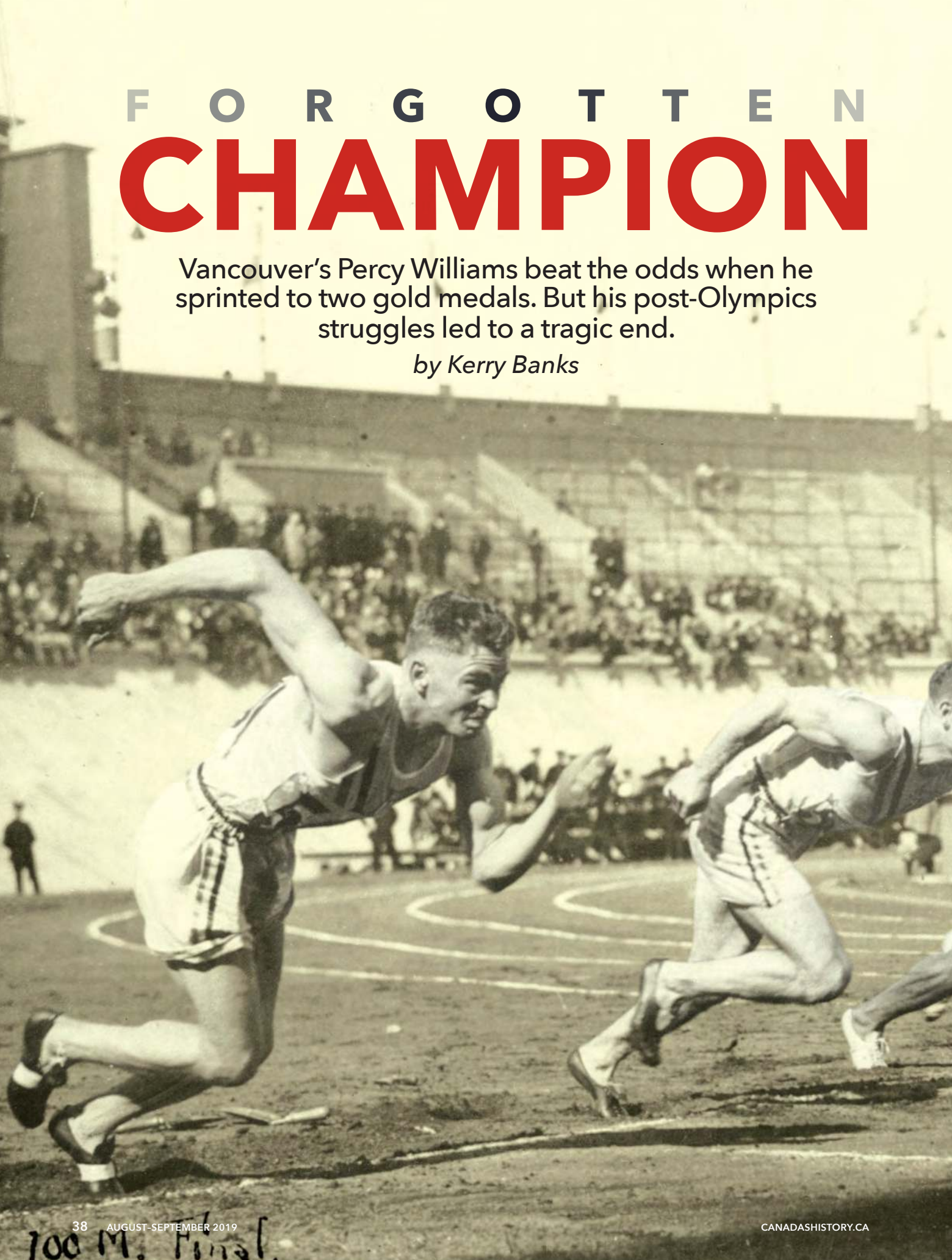
Today's problems in the Atlantic go well beyond Canada-France relations. Many fish stocks are still desperately weak, notably the prized cod from the Grand Banks and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. A moratorium on directed commercial fishing, imposed in 1992, has been only partially lifted. Meanwhile, exploration continues for hydrocarbons. Nevertheless, the Canada-France maritime conflicts that defined the past are now largely settled — at least as much as can be expected after a turbulent dispute about ocean boundaries and fisheries.

MATT YATHON

FORGOTTEN CHAMPION

Vancouver's Percy Williams beat the odds when he sprinted to two gold medals. But his post-Olympics struggles led to a tragic end.

by Kerry Banks



OUTSIDE THE BC SPORTS HALL OF FAME and Museum in Vancouver stands a bronze statue of sprinter Percy Williams crouched in a starting stance. When the museum hosts Olympic tours, they often start at this monument. "We ask people if they know who this is. Almost no one does," said curator Jason Beck. Visitors are surprised when Beck tells them that Williams is considered by many to be Canada's greatest Olympian. "I can understand tourists from out of town not being aware of Williams, but I don't expect it from Vancouverites," said Beck.

Williams rocketed to glory at the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam, when he won the men's 100- and 200-metre races and earned the title of "the world's fastest human." His victories represented a major upset. Williams was a virtual unknown, fresh out of high school and coping with a bad heart, the result of an attack of rheumatic fever he'd suffered a few years before. His physique inspired no fear. Standing a wispy five foot six and 125 pounds (57 kilograms), the Canadian was dwarfed by larger, more muscular runners, who often outweighed him by fifty or more pounds. To top it off, he was coached by a volatile part-time janitor with unorthodox training methods.

One suspects his Cinderella story would be more widely celebrated if Williams was an American. The Canadian coverage appears to consist of a 2011 biography, entitled

Percy Williams, third from right, bursts from the starting line in the final of the 100-metre race at the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam.

VANCOUVER CITY ARCHIVES

I Just Ran, and a forty-five-minute History Channel documentary. Even his provincial hall of fame statue was late in coming; it was raised in 1995, a full sixty-seven years after his Olympic triumph. Besides a plaque at Brockton Oval, a running track in Vancouver's Stanley Park where he once raced, no other trace of Williams exists in the city in which he was born and lived his entire life. Although he was elected to the Canadian Sports Hall of Fame in 1955, the only other Canadian tribute is a junior public school in Toronto that was named after him.

Some of Williams' obscurity can be attributed to the passage of time and to a peculiar Canadian reluctance to trumpet its own heroes. But this seems to run deeper. Why has his star faded so completely?

Above: A Fairview High School of Commerce track team group portrait from circa 1926–28 includes Percy Williams, second from left. Right: Williams' coach, Bob Granger, was a believer in massages, visualization, and other methods that were uncommon at the time. Here he treats Williams at the 1928 Olympics.

Williams began running in high school, not because he had a great passion for the sport but because his teachers, who recognized his gift, pressured him to uphold school spirit. The slim, modest teen had natural speed but lacked technique. This situation changed in the spring of 1926, when he met Bob Granger, an energetic, loquacious thirty-year-old with a florid face, freckles, and red hair.

As a *Maclean's* magazine article noted, "Granger had excelled at rugby and swimming as a youth and was a fair track man. When his own playing days were over, he devoted all his time and attention and what little money he had to developing schoolboy athletes." In 1926, the self-taught Granger was coaching rugby and track at Vancouver's King George High School while serving as a part-time janitor. He was also training an elite runner named Wally Scott; but when Williams beat his champion he switched his focus to Williams.

Granger initially had reservations. As he later wrote in a series of articles for the *Vancouver Sun*, "I had never seen such a travesty of running form. Percy ran with his arms glued to his sides. But neither had I ever seen in all my years of watching track races, such a pair of legs! They moved like pistons of a gasoline engine with somebody opening the throttle wider all the time."

Granger offered his services to Williams, and they began serious training. Mesmerized by Granger's enthusiasm, Williams even began cutting his hair in the same style as his coach.

Granger was constantly bubbling with ideas, some of which were ahead of his time: He preached visualization techniques and was an avid proponent of leg massages with cocoa butter. He also employed psychology, alternately bullying and

VANCOUVER CITY ARCHIVES

GETTY

praising his star pupil, who could be moody and lazy. Convinced that his budding star "ran best on hate," Granger would fuel Williams' competitive fire by telling him that his opponents were bad-mouthing him.

Because of Williams' delicate physique and past heart problems, Granger ensured that his charge conserved his energy. The sprinter did little warming up or stretching before races. Instead, his coach kept him swaddled in sweaters to heat up his body.

In Granger's mind, the ingredient that set Williams apart from other runners was his ability to hit a second gear and launch a final, crucial burst of acceleration near the race's finish, when others were slowing down. The teen also possessed another key trait — coolness under pressure. "Percy was able to draw his talent out on the field of battle. Many runners can't get past the stress and their anxiety. It holds them back," notes Williams' biographer, Sam Hawley.

The young athlete thrived under Granger's tutelage. In the summer of 1928, the duo travelled to Hamilton for the Olympic trials; Williams' fare was covered, but Granger had to wash dishes on the train to pay his way. At the trials, Williams stunned the easterners by winning both the 100- and 200-metre races to punch his ticket to Amsterdam. But Canadian officials refused to take Granger, who made the voyage three days later on a freighter, after Williams' mother rallied some Vancouver businessmen to cover his fare.

Both on the voyage and in Amsterdam, Williams clashed with Canadian track coach J.R. "Cap" Cornelius, a stern taskmaster who expected everyone to perform vigorous workouts — a notion contrary to Granger's methods. Williams

described Cornelius in a letter to his mother: "The coach here is one of the Scotch men who believe in the Big 'I' and little 'u,' and he was dead set against the method of training I use. Bob figured out that he was trying to give me 20 times too much work to do, so I just loafed all the time I've been here. "

Upon arrival, the Canadians checked in to the Hotel Holland, a third-rate inn on the edge of the city's red-light district. In contrast, the American athletes relaxed in luxury with their personal chefs and masseuses aboard the SS *President Roosevelt*, an ocean liner specially commissioned for the trip.

When Granger arrived, he began drilling Williams on his technique for starting races by having him launch himself into mattresses stacked against a wall in his room. At night, Granger would descend into the streets and try to persuade local bars to hold down the noise.

To qualify for the final in the 100 metres, Williams had to place first or second in each of three heats. After capturing the first two, he made a self-deprecating observation in his diary: "I always imagined it [the Olympics] was a game of heroes. Well, I'm in the semifinals myself so it can't be so hot."

WILLIAMS' MAPLE LEAF CREST MADE A STRONG IMPRESSION ON GEORGE STANLEY, WHO USED IT AS HIS INSPIRATION WHEN WORKING ON A DESIGN FOR CANADA'S NEW FLAG.

Williams ran second in the semis and advanced to face five rivals in the final. They included American sensation Frank Wykoff, who had equalled the world record at the Olympic trials. During the two-hour wait in the dressing room before the race, Williams read a book. Another American finalist, Bob McAllister, the combative "Flying Cop" from New York City, strutted by and asked Williams if he felt out of his depth.

The tiny Canadian appeared at the starting line lathered with cocoa butter and took his place between a sinewy, six-foot, 170-pound (77-kilogram) British runner named Jack London and Georg Lammers, a chiselled 185-pound (84-kilogram) German who would set thirteen world records during his career. Williams burst forward at the starter's gun and darted to victory, using his patented finishing kick to hold off a late rally by London. Moments after Williams crossed the finish line, he was engulfed by his gleeful teammates, who raised him to their shoulders and paraded in front of the cheering fans. Gasping for breath, he exclaimed, "Won't Granger be pleased?"

Granger, who later referred to the race as "ten seconds of breathless living," was described in *Maclean's* magazine as "standing alone in the tiny Canadian section of the stands with tears streaming down his face and one hand covered in blood from where he had beat it on a strand of barbed wire cheering for Williams."

That night, Williams wrote in his diary, "Well, well, well. So, I'm supposed to be the World's 100M Champion (Crushed apples). No more fun in running now."

Defying the wishes of Canadian officials, who feared he might tarnish his title as "the world's fastest man," Williams returned the next day to compete in the 200 metres. To complete the rare double, he would have to run eight races in four days. The plucky Canuck survived three heats, and then stormed to victory in the final, out-kicking Britain's Walter Rangeley and Helmut Kornig of Germany. A dramatic photo of Williams breaking the tape, mouth opened wide and chest thrust forward, displaying his maple leaf crest, made a strong impression on a New Brunswick lad named George Stanley, who used it as his inspiration thirty-six years later when working on a design for Canada's new flag.

Williams' triumph was huge news in Canada, and when he returned home by train he was greeted at each station with applause and gifts. In Vancouver, "Peerless Percy" was welcomed with an enormous homecoming parade that began at the CPR station and snaked through the city to Stanley Park. Radio reporters were stationed along the route to broadcast the event live.

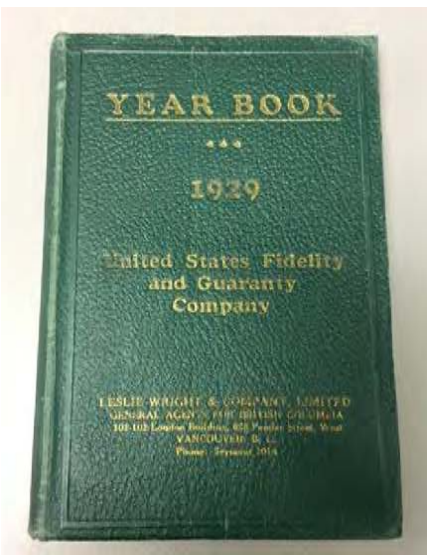
"The crowd hailed him like a Caesar," declared the *Vancouver Province*.

Williams was presented with a sporty blue Graham-Paige coupe, five hundred dollars in gold, and the promise of a fifteen-thousand-dollar trust fund, part of which was to fund his studies at the University of British Columbia (UBC).

Williams received scholarship proposals from several American universities, and Granger fielded some coaching offers, including one from the University of Oxford. In the end, both men stayed in Vancouver, though their UBC connections fizzled. Granger, who was already coaching multiple sports at the campus, quit in a huff when the university refused to pay him, while Williams, who felt burdened by his newfound celebrity and resented the way advertisers were profiting from his name, left school that winter to enter a series of indoor challenge races in the eastern United States.

The indoor tour appealed to Williams' competitive instincts, and it offered him a chance to do something forbidden by the strict amateur rules of the day — make money. It was common for star athletes to receive secret payments for drawing crowds, and Williams was the biggest name in sprinting. Adding to the drama, the Americans were aching to avenge their Olympic defeat, which many blamed on a soft track.

The "tour of guts," as it was dubbed, posed a serious challenge. It forced Williams to run races of varying distances on



ABOVE: GETTY. BELOW: BC SPORTS HALL OF FAME

Top: Percy Williams is held aloft by compatriots after his victory in the 100-metre race at the 1928 Olympics. Below, from left: Williams' cleats, trowel, Olympic blazer, and 1929 journal are on display at the BC Sports Hall of Fame.

Percy Williams and his mother, Charlotte, at a reception in Hamilton in 1928.

unfamiliar surfaces against fresh opponents at each venue. Incredibly, he would win fourteen of seventeen races, setting a new world record for the 60 metres and tying three others. Later in life, he called it a feat greater than his Olympic double and admitted that he enjoyed the circus atmosphere of the indoor events, not just because he won prizes but because he raced so often that he didn't have to train.

The Vancouver sprinter's diary of the 1929 tour survived to become part of the BC Sports Hall of Fame's cache of his memorabilia, which is larger than that of any other inductee. It includes the trowel he used to dig his starting holes at the 1928 games, his Olympic blazer, gifts he received, and a massive scrapbook filled with clippings, postcards, and telegrams that chart his running career. The hall also once had his Olympic gold medals, but they were stolen in 1980 and never recovered. Williams didn't complain about the theft, but it must have hurt.

Unfortunately, the diary contains few personal insights. Instead, Williams primarily focuses on his meals, a variety of complaints, and a detailed accounting of the merchandise he won. He also displays a biting wit, dismissing New York City by saying, "Everybody here is so crooked. They could hide behind a corkscrew." Oddly, though, he shows no excitement over his racing results. "Race OK. Say it's a new world record 7 flat for 60 metres." (At the time, races were run in both metric and Imperial measurements.)

Williams headed east again in the summer of 1930 to compete in the inaugural British Empire Games in Hamilton. Two weeks before the event, he raced at the Canadian Track and Field Championships in Toronto and blazed to a new world record of 10.3 seconds for the 100 metres, solidifying his legend.

But disaster struck in Hamilton. He was streaking to victory in the 100-yard final when he pulled a muscle in his left thigh. In agony, he kept running, staggering out of his lane at the tape. He won in the remarkable time of 9.9 seconds and then crumpled to the track. His leg was never the same.

Even so, Williams continued racing and qualified for the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles. This time he wouldn't have Granger at his side. Their relationship grew strained after the 1928 Olympics and disintegrated after the indoor tour, when they argued over money and the direction of Williams' career.

Shortly before the Olympics, a messenger arrived at Williams' door with a one-way train ticket to Los Angeles and ten dollars in expense money. It was all that Canadian officials would offer their former golden boy, even as they travelled first-class to California. Insulted, Williams opted to drive down with friends. But he could not recapture the old magic and failed to make the finals in either the 100- or 200-metre events. It was his last hurrah. He never again attended a track meet, not even as a spectator.

Williams became an insurance salesman, played golf, hunted, raised golden retrievers, and learned to fly airplanes. He lived out his days modestly in an apartment in the West End of Vancouver with his mother, until her death at age ninety-two in 1980, and then alone. He never married.

Granger plugged away for a while, searching for another champion before quitting the track world. He remained single, drifting through a string of menial jobs. In 1964, a reporter tracked him to a shabby apartment above a barbershop in Port Alberni, a mill town on Vancouver Island, where he was surviving on a meagre pension. Granger had no mementoes from the glory days, but he waxed poetic about the stirring spectacle of Williams dashing to the world record in 1930. "I wanted to feast my eyes on the sight," he said. "I wanted the finish line to run before him to the ends of the earth. He was like thistledown before the summer breeze."

If Williams didn't physically suit the image of an Olympic hero, he also didn't fit the public-relations mould once he left the sport. He studiously avoided interactions with the media or any involvement in track and field, despite several attempts to draw him in. "After retiring he didn't play the role they wanted him to play. He didn't become a committee guy. He didn't play the game," said Williams' biographer Sam Hawley. "There was a sense of disappointment with him for turning his back on the track."

Outside a small circle of friends, Williams came across as an aloof and difficult figure. In 1953, as work began on a new Vancouver stadium to host the British Empire Games, there was talk of naming the new edifice in his honour. Williams was asked to partake in the sod-turning event. After much hemming and hawing, he finally said, "I will have to ask my

TORONTO STAR ARCHIVES/TORONTO STAR VIA GETTY IMAGES

WILLIAMS—A WORLD CHAMPION
THE VANCOUVER DAILY PROVINCE
Percy Williams of Vancouver Wins 100 Metre Olympic Final
Great Jubilation When Local Boy Beats World's Greatest Sprinting Stars
Vancouver Thrilled by Native Son's Great Triumph

Pages from Percy Williams' personal scrapbook which is housed at the BC Sports Hall of Fame.

mother." He was forty-five at the time. Williams eventually made a brief appearance, but the naming idea was quickly dropped. Later in the 1960s, when an indoor track meet was launched in Vancouver, officials called it the Percy Williams Invitational. But when Williams proved reluctant to help to publicize the event, organizers soon renamed it. A year before Montreal hosted the 1976 Summer Olympics, the federal government invited all of Canada's living gold medallists to participate in a special ceremony. Williams was the only one who did not attend.

His shy nature was often interpreted as rudeness; but, judging by the descriptions of his distress in social situations, he possibly suffered from an anxiety disorder. Given his persistent self-criticism, he may also have been coping with depression.

As he aged, Williams grew increasingly bitter about his past run-ins with athletic officials and the administrators of his trust fund, who tried to cut him off from his money after he left university. When he did talk to the press, he was bluntly honest. After a 1972 Canadian Press poll declared Williams Canada's greatest Olympian, a reporter asked him to describe the thrill of winning gold for his country. He replied, "I always thought it was a lot of hogwash to say that you ran for your flag and country. I was out there to beat the guy beside me."

One of his rare public appearances occurred in 1970, when he turned up at Bob Granger's funeral. Asked by reporters about Granger's influence over his athletic success, he replied, "Granger was everything. Everything."

His last public appearance was in 1979, when he received the Order of Canada. At the ceremony, Williams declined a request from Governor General Ed Schreyer to say a few words.

Williams' final years were not happy ones. He developed arthritis in his ankles and joints and was drinking heavily, even going so far as to steal liquor from other members of the tony Capilano Golf Club, a slip that resulted in his expulsion. It severed his last form of social contact. He suffered two strokes soon afterward, and as time wore on he was barely able to care for himself.

Late in November 1982, Williams decided that he'd had enough. He climbed into his bathtub with a 12-gauge shotgun, a gift from his triumphant cross-Canada train journey in 1928, and killed himself. The date does not seem to have been selected at random. It was exactly twelve years to the day from when he had learned of Bob Granger's death. Both men made their exit at age seventy-four.

When word of Williams' suicide leaked out, it further muddied his legacy. This wasn't the ending people wanted. At his funeral, mourners were serenaded by the theme from Chariots of Fire, the 1981 film about British sprinters competing in the 1924 Olympics. About 125 people attended, including *Vancouver Sun* sports columnist Archie McDonald, who wrote of Williams: "His destiny was distilled into 32.6 seconds, the time it took to win two gold medals three days apart."

Sadly, it appears that Williams came to resent that his life was forever defined by those lofty moments of breathless living. He pursued fame, and he found it, but then he struggled to deal with its complicated aftermath. On the inside cover of his lovingly maintained scrapbook, which was found displayed prominently on his mantelpiece, Williams pasted a telling quote by Irish playwright Oscar Wilde: "When the gods wish to punish us they answer our prayers."

BC SPORTS HALL OF FAME

A row of colourful fishing huts line the harbour at Saint-Pierre.

French Connection

The history of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon has been entwined with Canada's for centuries. *by Nancy Payne*

When four thousand kilometres of cold northern seas separate you from the motherland and a young foreign country looms nearby, you really can't help but develop a culture all your own. The archipelago of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, a French "overseas collectivity" of about six thousand people that sits just off Newfoundland's Burin Peninsula, manages to be at once New World rugged and Old World refined — decidedly French but with a unique history that is almost inseparable from Canada's.

As our ferry from Fortune, Newfoundland and Labrador, enters the Saint-Pierre harbour, the first thing we see are colourful houses ranging up what can only be described as a giant rock looming out of the ocean. The landscape says you're still in Newfoundland, but the tricolour flags and the Citroën delivery vans shout, *Vous êtes en France!* My older son asks about buying some stamps and discovers he has about twenty minutes to do so before the post office closes for the rest of the day … and then for the weekend. Definitely France.

Lauriane, our guide for a walking tour the next morning that focuses on local architecture, notes that the houses have been built — and, due to frequent fires, rebuilt — over the centuries using wood imported from Canada. Every aspect of life on Saint-Pierre is subsidized by the French government, including the use of real wood siding and the regular repainting of homes.

When the collaborationist Vichy government took power in France in 1940, during the Second World War, Canada suddenly had a hostile presence not far offshore. Neighbouring Newfoundland, then still a British colony, and Canada both feared that Germany could use Saint-Pierre as a base from which to launch an attack. While Britain rejected Newfoundland's proposal to invade the archipelago, Canada quietly lent support to plans to free it. As we pause at

ISTOCK

the war memorial, Lauriane explains that on December 24, 1940, a small group of Free French forces landed on Saint-Pierre and removed the governor to one of their ships. The whole thing took less than an hour. Residents voted on Christmas Day to support the overthrow, making Saint-Pierre the first part of France to be liberated.

Canada also figured prominently in the most prosperous era of Saint-Pierre's history: prohibition. Canadian distilleries continued to produce alcohol and sold it legally to the French outpost, where huge warehouses soon sprang up along the waterfront. Rum-runners sent their orders by mail or telegraph, and well-organized teams of Saint-Pierrais (residents of the island) transported the requested bottles by wagon or sled to the docks for eventual sale in the United States. "Our streets were literally paved with the profits from prohibition," said Jean-Pierre, our guide for the afternoon.

The next morning sees me on an early ferry to nearby Miquelon while my teenaged sons stay behind to explore sights, such as a cemetery with above-ground plots, and to sample the local crème glacée. My ferry is packed with day trippers and cottagers; apparently, many locals escape the hustle and bustle of Saint-Pierre (population 5,500) to vacation on Langlade, once a separate island but now connected to Miquelon by a sandbar. We anchor offshore and hop onto a Zodiac, which the crew piles perilously high with coolers, luggage, and, naturellement, large plastic containers of carefully packed pastries.

The driver takes an American couple and me on a tour of peaceful Miquelon, sunny and breezy on a quiet Sunday. As I walk through the village, also called Miquelon, I'm surprised to see flourishing vegetable plots in the neatly fenced yards. It turns out that there are small farms and market gardens on Miquelon, which is sandy and relatively fertile compared to rocky Saint-Pierre.

In the centre of the village, beside Notre-Dame des Ardilliers church, stands a monument to the Acadians who became some of the first permanent settlers on the archipelago after they were expelled from what are now the Maritime Provinces in *Le Grand Dérangement* of the mid-1700s. The threads of history bind our countries tightly indeed.

Top: The tricolour flag of France flies in the window of a home at Saint-Pierre.

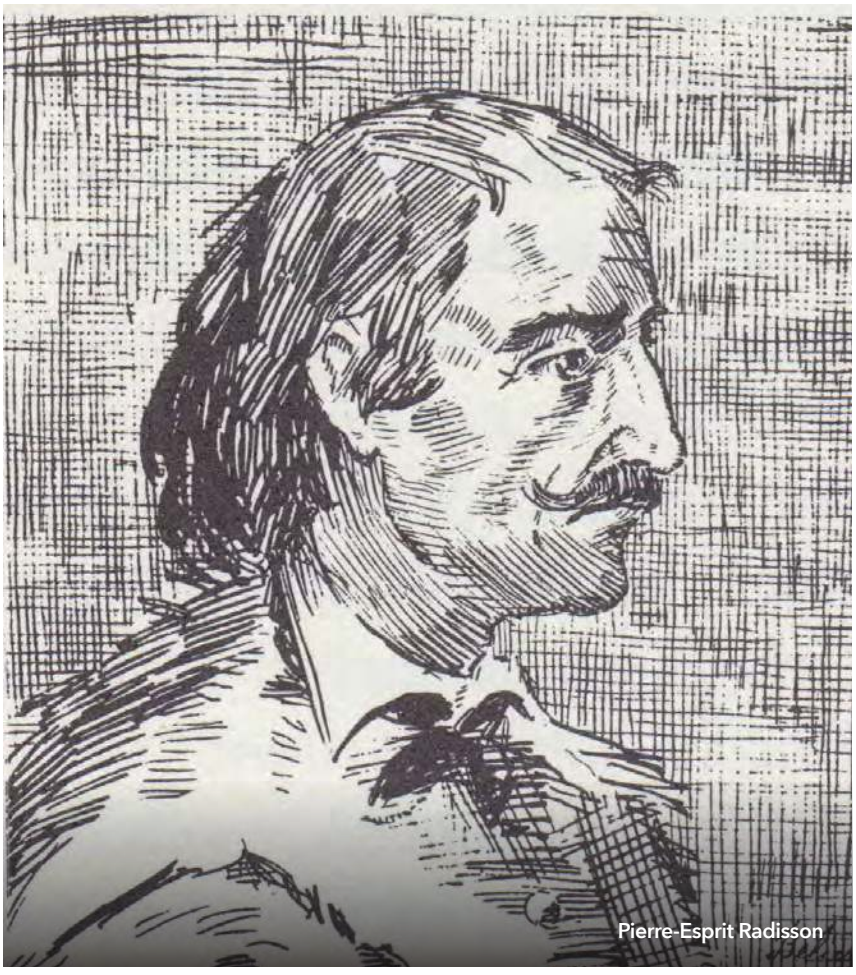
Right: A momument in the village of Miquelon tells the story of the Acadian Expulsion that occurred in the Maritime Provinces between 1755 and 1758. Some expelled Acadians settled on the archipelago in the mid-1700s.

Woven into that tapestry are tragedies in the waters around Saint-Pierre and Miquelon. More than six hundred ships have been wrecked there since the 1800s; Canadian ships have been lost even in recent decades. You can explore shipwreck history at the Archipélitude Museum, located in a former schoolhouse across the harbour from Saint-Pierre on Île aux Marins. Now mostly a cottage community, the island is also home to a war memorial and walking trails.

For Canadians accustomed to being overshadowed by all things American, it can be odd to see our country cast as the overbearing neighbour. For instance, Saint-Pierrais felt steamrolled by the collapse of the East Coast cod stocks and Canada's subsequent moratorium in the 1990s.

Anyone interested in stories of our past will find it especially fascinating to see how they are reflected back to us from this unique little corner of France.

NANCY PAYNE



Pierre-Esprit Radisson

OPEN BOOK

Intrepid adventurer

As Mark Bourrie makes clear in his latest book, Pierre-Esprit Radisson was much more than an explorer and a trader. Born in France circa 1636, he arrived in 1651 at Trois-Rivières, in what is now Quebec, and was soon afterwards captured by Mohawk (Iroquois) warriors. Adopted into a powerful Mohawk family, Radisson travelled as a member of a raiding party and learned Indigenous languages.

After defecting to the Dutch in North America and then returning to Trois-Rivières, he made trips west with Jesuit priests and Iroquois parties. In 1658 Radisson departed on the first of his travels with his brother-in-law Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers, during which they explored the Great Lakes and Ottawa River regions in search of furs. Their plans to journey to Hudson Bay were thwarted until 1668, when they set sail from England with the backing of Prince Rupert and the wealthy merchants who would form the Hudson's Bay Company.

In Bush Runner: The Adventures of Pierre-Esprit Radisson*, Bourrie draws from Radisson's own journals and details his many escapades — and setbacks — including his capture by pirates and several years stuck in London, England, awaiting the chance to voyage to Hudson Bay. Living through plague, war with Holland, and the Great Fire — after which vindictive mobs sought out foreigners for retribution — Radisson survived what Bourrie calls the worst conditions London would see until the Second World War. Meanwhile, the English granted Radisson's brother-in-law the nickname "Gooseberry," a loose translation of his name Groseilliers.*

To the Bay

by Mark Bourrie

KING CHARLES II LEASED THE SMALL two-mast ship the *Eaglet* to Prince Rupert and his fellow investors, while the dependable Captain Gillam of Boston was already outfitting the *Nonsuch*. Rupert issued orders to the captains of both ships, telling them of the importance of their mission and warning them to "use the said Mr. Gooseberry and Mr. Radisson with all manner of civility and to take care that all your company do bear a particular respect unto them, they being the persons upon whose credit we have undertaken this expedition." The expedition was also given orders to look for a Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean, which, if found, would have made all of the investors spectacularly rich.

After a sumptuous dinner in the spring of 1668 — one of many that lubricated negotiations for the financing of the expedition — the eighteen investors, who included the Duke of Albemarle, several earls, and some of the richest men in the city of London, headed to the wharf to catch a barge to Gravesend to see Radisson and the *Eaglet* off. The *Nonsuch* had already sailed and would make it to Hudson Bay carrying Groseilliers.

But the *Eaglet* was no seabird. Somewhere northeast of Ireland, she was caught in a wicked six-hour storm in waves so high that the men aboard were sure she was about to capsize. Even with all her sails down, the wind pushed so hard against the rigging that the *Eaglet* lay almost sideways in the grey, churning water. Fighting desperately to save her, the *Eaglet*'s crew chopped down her main mast and pushed it overboard into the roiling, cold sea. With the main mast gone and the storm abating, the crew was able to regain control of the *Eaglet*, but she was in no shape to keep going westward, so they raised sails on the surviving small mast and limped back to Plymouth.

In a bit of disinformation, the *London Gazette* officially reported

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in its August 13, 1668, edition: "Plymouth, Aug. 7. On Wednesday last (Aug. 5) came in the *Eagle* [sic]. Ketch, having in her way for Newfound-land been severely handled by storm, in which she spent her main Mast, and with some difficulty put back to refit." Once again, Radisson was stuck in England.

Groseilliers and the tougher *Nonsuch* skirted the sea ice and arrived in August at the mouth of the Nelson River after a four-month journey through the bleak, grey waters of the North Atlantic and Hudson Bay. As they sailed south along the coastline, it became clear to the English sailors that Groseilliers, despite the stories he and Radisson told, had no idea about the geography of Hudson Bay. The navigators looked for the mouth of the river where the explorer Thomas

> Radisson left in the dead of the brutal winter to trade with the Cree, hundreds of kilometres away.

Button had built a house in 1613, and somehow they found the ruins at the outlet of the Nelson River. This was a big estuary surrounded by hills covered with scrubby pine forests that was dangerous to approach because of sandbars and strong tides that left miles of mudflats when low, but it was the seaport of one of the longest canoe routes to the west.

The Cree quickly found the ship and traded for the hardware and cloth that she carried. Groseilliers had also brought some wampum with him and used it to cement trading alliances with the Cree leadership. It was too late to return to England that year, so the crew of the *Nonsuch* built a fort, which they named after the king, and settled in for a very long, cold winter. …

Because Gillam kept them busy and well-fed, surprisingly few men died that winter. In the spring, they were able to contact the Cree to let them know the *Nonsuch* was still in business. It took most of the next summer for ice to clear from the bay, so Groseilliers and his companions got in another trading season before finally getting past Hudson Strait and heading home in August 1669.

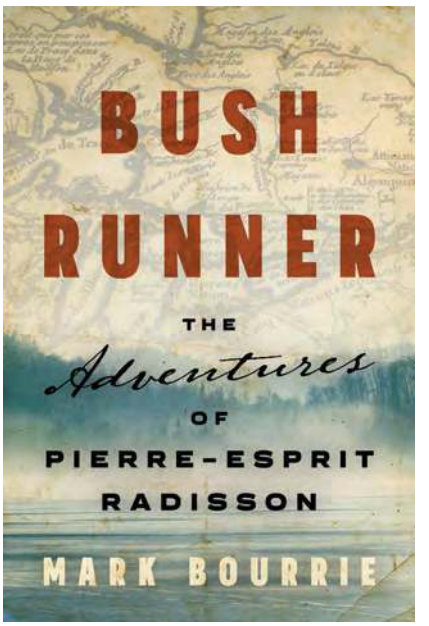
The trip was very profitable for the investors, and not just because of the payoff from the sale of furs. Charles II was so impressed when Rupert told him of the expedition's success that he very generously granted the investors a trading monopoly in Hudson Bay, along with half of what's now Canada and part of North and South Dakota: that is, all the land in the drainage basin of the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. None of this was his to give, of course, and at the time no one saw the grant as anything more than a gentle legal warning against French intrusion in the new English trade. …

Charles probably did not expect the Hudson's Bay Company charter to cause a rift with France, and he certainly had no idea he was giving away almost half a continent and many billions of dollars worth of resources. He was also illegally handing the lands of several First Nations over to corporate control. Two centuries later, the grant would be used as legal justification for Canadian expansion into the prairies, with all the disease, displacement, and social destruction that followed for the First Nations who lived there.

For now, the focus was on building and paying for ships and gathering what was needed to build forts — "factories" in Hudson's Bay Company lingo — along the shore of that vast inland sea. Like the French in Quebec, the company had no desire to colonize the land holdings that it laid claim to. All it wanted was furs, at the cheapest price possible. And no competition. …

In May 1670, the new *Prince Rupert*, skippered by the ubiquitous Gillam, left England carrying Groseilliers. Radisson went to the bay on the *Wivenhoe*, along with an odd character named Charles Bailey, whose previous residences included Virginia, several London jails, and the Tower of London. … Bailey was something of an organizational genius with a talent for business. When the *Wivenhoe* arrived in Hudson Bay, it was Bailey, acting as a local governor, who chose the sites of the company's forts and ran the trade.

Radisson wanted to go into James Bay to find a big river that would take him to Lake Superior and back to the upper lakes, where he and Groseilliers



had made so much money a decade earlier. Radisson claimed an English canoe flotilla could reach Green Bay on Lake Michigan in a week, which is absurd. He also told the English that it was only 150 miles (240 kilometres) from the south end of Lake Michigan to the Gulf of Mexico. Luckily for Radisson, his geography was never tested. …

Bailey wanted to trade from the shore and couldn't care less where the rivers came from, so long as the Cree could find his factories. The main fort was to be at the mouth of the Nelson River, a fantastic choice, since it lay at the end of the Saskatchewan River-Lake Winnipeg canoe route. At the

With the 1670 Hudson's Bay Company charter, seen here, King Charles II gave away almost half a continent and handed over the lands of several First Nations.

last minute, the 1670 expedition left the Nelson for the nearby mouth of the Nemisco, which they renamed the Rupert River.

Bailey had brought bricks and wood to build a comfortable fort. His men loved him because he looked after them, bringing barrels of beer on the trip and the ingredients to make more, and giving them time off to hunt ducks and caribou. At times, he even got along with Radisson, to whom he gave a prized possession: a fine, expensive manuscript atlas. The old jailbird was nevertheless determined to make Radisson redundant. Bailey took over the negotiations with the Cree, even though he knew nothing about them, at least at first. …

Rather recklessly, Radisson left in the dead of the brutal, dark winter to trade with Cree at the mouth of the Moose River, hundreds of kilometres away at the bottom of James Bay. Knowing they would be short of food, he brought dried peas, for which the Cree were willing to pay dearly. The Cree, at what's now Moose Factory, promised Radisson they would come north to the Rupert River in the spring. In their reports to England, Bailey and his second-in-command, Thomas Gorst, gave Radisson no credit for any of this.

In the summer of 1671, Bailey and Gorst explored and mapped James Bay before leaving for home on July 24 with the ships' holds stuffed with furs worth one pound sterling for every two pounds of fur. For the first time, Radisson and Groseilliers found themselves shunted aside. They were now tourists on their own expedition, foreigners among the xenophobic English, Catholics among Protestants. They didn't have enough money to have a stake in the ownership of the company.

Now the English were becoming experts in cold-weather survival and in diplomacy with the First Nations. The two Frenchmen had come up with a great idea, but once they shared it, it was no longer theirs. When they got back to England, they were given a measly bonus of five pounds, while the Duke of York got a full share of the company, worth three hundred pounds, just because he was next in line for the throne. The duke's share also came with the promise of a big dividend.

At about the same time, the company's leaders decided to enforce a rule against its employees trading privately with the First Nations. This had been the real gravy for the two Frenchmen, who, between them, had made £162 by moonlighting with their own stock of trade goods, diverting furs that would otherwise have gone to the company. This was far more than their base salary of £50 a year. Even with the profits of private trading, they were making nowhere near the money they'd pulled in from their Lake Superior expedition to the Sioux and the Cree.

Radisson and Groseilliers stayed in London to help put together a third expedition to Hudson Bay, but their pay, and even the now-official title of "Captain Gooseberry," did not keep them happy as they watched

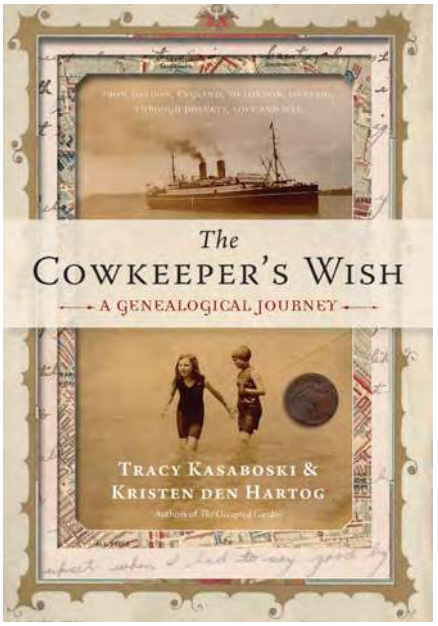
Radisson was no longer the centre of attention or the go-to man on Arctic exploration.

the Hudson's Bay Company investors making a fifty-per-cent return on their investments. In Quebec, they dealt with just one greedy governor. With the English scheme, there were the calloused hands of sailors and the soft hands of eighteen investors waiting for gold.

Radisson may well have seethed with jealousy when he saw that it was the English sea captains, and not him, who were invited by the Royal Society to give lectures on their Hudson Bay adventures. Radisson was no longer the centre of attention or the go-to man on Arctic exploration, which must have really hurt. Soon, the company would be able to run its Hudson Bay trade without him.

From *Bush Runner: The Adventures of Pierre-Esprit Radisson*, by Mark Bourrie. Reprinted with permission of Biblioasis Press.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY ARCHIVES



SEEING THE FOREST

The Cowkeeper's Wish: A Genealogical Journey

by Tracy Kasaboski and Kristen den Hartog
Douglas and McIntyre,
447 pages, $32.95

In its first few paragraphs, *The Cowkeeper's Wish* dispels any fear that we're in for four hundred-plus pages of chronological minutiae masquerading as family history. Early in the book's prologue, authors Tracy Kasaboski and Kristen den Hartog set out their credo: "As the searcher makes her journey into the past, tracing yet another generation or growing her tree by a branch, it may occur to her that what she has gathered are clues, and that the part that matters, the story, has yet to be told."

Yes, yes, yes! Of course, in genealogical research it's necessary to do a thorough and accurate job with names, dates, and places. (After all, if you make a mistake, you'll unwittingly research a stranger's ancestors, not your own.) Yet does it really matter if your third great-grandfather was a Willy or a Sam? Such detail only counts when we learn his achievements and disappointments, his loves and losses, how he lived his life.

Already the authors of a well-received family memoir, sisters Kasaboski and den Hartog meet this challenge head-on. They present a complex multi-generational saga starting in the early 1840s with a poor Welsh dairyman who sought to better his lot in life by relocating (on foot) to the metropolis with his wife-to-be and his cows. Soon their burgeoning family, not to mention the livestock, was settled in the meanest streets of the largest city in the world at that time, the London of Charles Dickens' novels and, later, of Charles Booth's poverty maps.

Through the experiences of family members, we encounter a victim of Jack the Ripper, the Salvation Army in its formative years, Charlie Chaplin and his mother, the final moments of the *Titanic*, deadly U-boat attacks in the North Sea, and Guy Lombardo as a teenage musician in the other London, Canada's own, where the story eventually takes us in the aftermath of the Great War.

On their website, the authors refer to this tale as a "family/social history," and they take every opportunity to allow "the broader scope of world history … to permeate the tale." We suffer through London's lung-searing fogs; we encounter the family's many shockingly early deaths and humiliating detentions in the workhouse and the asylum; we hobnob with royalty (who knew Edward VII was such a fine diplomat?); and we experience the prejudice against poor Londoners in the Canada of a century ago.

Throughout, the prose is graceful, the research meticulous. As a bonus, the book is nicely designed, printed on high-quality stock. The text is supported by thirty photos, most of them from the family's collection, and one would have welcomed even more.

I do have a criticism: This is a book that needs a proper bibliography and an index, but it has neither. The endnotes are profuse — about one per page on average — but they cannot conveniently fulfill these other roles.

The absence of an index is particularly galling for readers with anything less than a perfect memory. One of the book's many strengths is a huge supporting cast of family friends and minor public figures, all admirably introduced to the reader when they first appear. How frustrating when a character returns later in the narrative and you don't remember who this is. To mitigate what was no doubt a budgetary decision, might the authors provide an index on their informative website, if only for names and places? (They might also take this opportunity to present even more photos from their albums.)

The lack of a bibliography or an index should not diminish one's appreciation for the meticulous research on a stupendous scale that underlies the tale. Going far beyond the usual genealogical tool kit (church and civil records, censuses, and the like), Kasaboski and den Hartog delve into the parish chest, minutes of regulatory bodies, registers of various institutions, police and newspaper reports, and the findings of two Royal Commissions. They are also blessed with extensive family lore, including the late-in-life recollections of one of the story's central figures.

Even so, telling a story requires more than great facts. To research is to move backward in time and to answer the questions who, where, and when. Narration is forward-looking and brings new considerations into play: how and why? We often can't know for sure, and we need a novelistic sensibility, so richly visible here, to interpret circumstantial evidence and to express nuance.

There was one act in this saga that required no parsing for motivation: "To make my home" was the unambiguous declaration by the Welsh dairyman's

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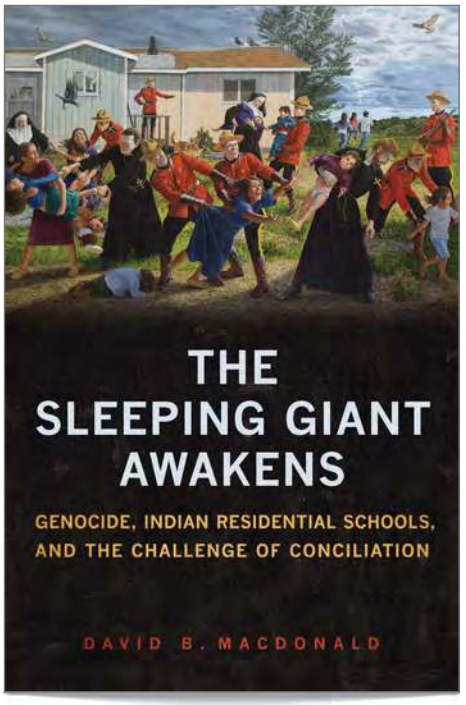

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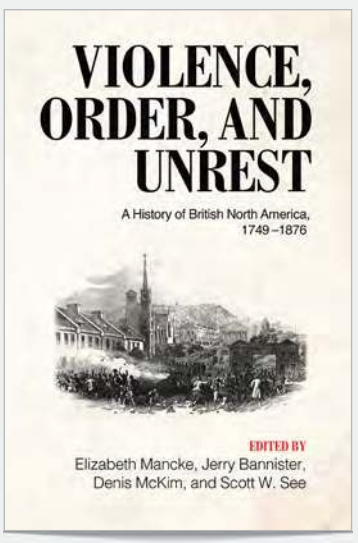
VIOLENCE, ORDER, AND UNREST
A History of British North America, 1749–1876
EDITED BY
Elizabeth Mancke, Jerry Bannister, Denis McKim, and Scott W. See

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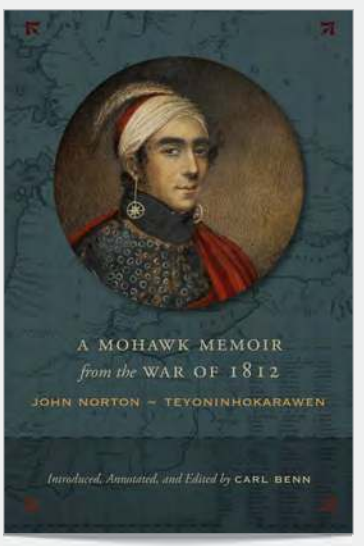

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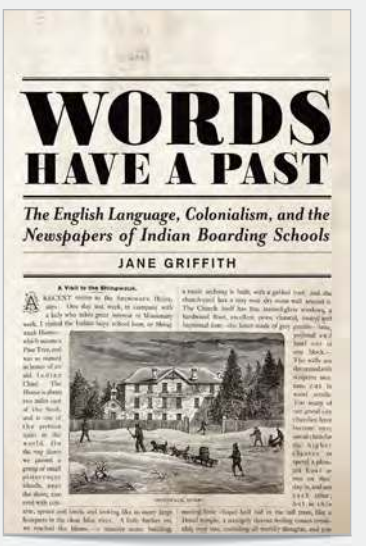

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great-grandchildren in support of their Canadian immigration. And it was thus, as for so many others, that the authors' forebears ultimately escaped generations of first rural and then urban poverty, at long last fulfilling the cow-keeper's wish.

Reviewed by **Paul Jones**, who is the Roots columnist for *Canada's History* magazine and an avid genealogical researcher.

ABOUT FACE

The True Face of Sir Isaac Brock

by Guy St-Denis
University of Calgary Press,
330 pages, $34.99

Canadians with even a loose grasp of their national story likely have a notion of what important historical figures looked like, or what they've been imagined to look like. The advent of photography roughly coincides with the road to Confederation; hence there is no shortage of real-life pictures of Sir John A. Macdonald and the Fathers of Confederation, and there are also quite a few reliable images of the mothers, wives, and daughters of Confederation.

Before the development of photography, though, historical portraiture was an infinitely more dubious and unreliable domain. A notable example is Samuel de Champlain, the undisputed colonial founder of Canada. The goateed face we see on innumerable statues and textbook illustrations is, as intrepid historians have revealed, a much-copied version of the portrait of an obscure French bureaucrat.

London, Ontario-based historian Guy St-Denis encountered the pitfalls of portraiture as he embarked upon what was originally supposed to be a new biography of Sir Isaac Brock, one of the most lauded heroes of the War of 1812. In rounding up illustrations for his proposed book, St-Denis soon found himself on a quest to determine, as the book's title declares, Brock's "true face." That quest eventually produced enough material for its own book.

"After consulting diverse and far-flung manuscript collections for the better part of a decade," St-Denis concluded (spoiler alert) that there really is only one verified true portrait of Brock as an adult. (There is also an authentic portrait of him as a sixteen-year-old ensign). Brock sat for this one portrait, a twenty-by-twenty-three-centimetre profile pose, "sometime between May of 1809 and July of 1810" while stationed in Quebec City. The portraitist was Gerrit Schipper, described as a "Dutch itinerant artist."

St-Denis has some experience unravelling historical mysteries. His 2010 book, *Tecumseh's Bone*s, explored what might have happened to the remains of the Indigenous war leader and Brock ally Tecumseh. It also provided the author with a considerable amount of research on Brock himself.

Perhaps St-Denis's single most important contribution to the Brock record is the definitive debunking of one of the most commonly misidentified portraits of the fabled defender of British North America. The full-faced miniature portrait of a handsome, blond, curly-haired young man in a British officer's uniform, reputedly handed down by relatives of the fallen commander, was revealed to be the visage of another officer, Lieutenant George Dunn.

St-Denis credits German immigrant Ludwig Kosche, a historian at the Canadian War Museum, with doing the major detective work, including trips to Guernsey, Brock's birthplace, where the hero's family abounds, his memory is revered, and the original of his one authentic portrait hangs in the island's museum. (The portrait made a return visit to Canada in 2012 for the bicentennial of the War of 1812; it was on display at the RiverBrink Art Museum in Queenston, Ontario.)

Kosche, incidentally, got the Brock bug through his mission at the war museum to authenticate one of its prized possessions, the scarlet coat Brock wore when he was cut down by an American sniper's bullet at the battle of Queenston Heights, on October 13, 1812.

The True Face of Sir Isaac Brock is a bit of a challenge to read in some stretches because of the proliferation of versions of portraits and the multitude of characters trying to prove or to deny their veracity. Still, the occasional density of the text is evidence of the depth of research St-Denis has undertaken. To that end, he has provided thirty-four pages of plates, most in colour, of the works discussed in the text as well as summaries of their provenances.

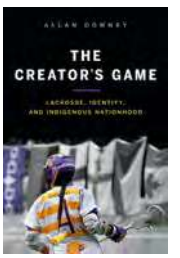
The reader does not learn a lot more about the life and times of Sir Isaac Brock, the man and war hero; but St-Denis's exploration of the trail of Brock's portraiture reveals a vast amount of fascinating information about his family, his descendants, and his admirers, as well as their efforts to uncover, to authenticate, and to preserve his likeness.

Reviewed by **Peter Black**, a long-time Quebec City resident, former CBC Radio journalist, freelance writer for a variety of media, and regular columnist for the *Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph*, *Sherbrooke Record*, and *Plattsburgh Press-Republican*.

ROOTS OF RESISTANCE

The Creator's Game: Lacrosse, Identity, and Indigenous Nationhood

by Allan Downey
UBC Press, 363 pages, $34.95



Many Canadians have only a passing awareness of lacrosse, or regarding the fact that it is Canada's official national summer sport. In its heyday in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the sport was more popular than hockey and was widely viewed as an

emblem of Canadian identity.

Even after the advent of the modern game, lacrosse continued to be of importance to the development of Indigenous nationhood in this country. In *The Creator's Game*, Allan Downey aims to educate readers on these less well-known dimensions of lacrosse and its continuing significance for Indigenous people, in particular for the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) of central Canada.

The book commences with a prologue on the Indigenous origins of lacrosse as related by an Elder of the Six Nations of the Grand River, in southwestern Ontario. While much of *The Creator's Game* is a scholarly study of its subject, its innovative opening section reveals the author's personal experience of Indigenous knowledge of the game, which adds authenticity and depth. It also signals to the reader that the author wishes to provide a significant reinterpretation of a very old game.

Like the modern sport of hockey, which also derived in part from Indigenous roots, lacrosse was developed by First Nations well before European contact. In the nineteenth century it was appropriated by Euro-Canadians and then repackaged and reinterpreted to represent their values and priorities. This process of appropriation largely occurred between 1860 and the 1990s. Still, Indigenous people found ways to retain lacrosse as a core symbol of their identity while excelling at the restyled sport and reclaiming it as their own.

In the context of the coercive and assimilationist practices of residential schools, Indigenous students found ways to play lacrosse and other sports as part of a strategy of survival through expressions of entertainment, pride, and resistance. Downey sees agency in their ability to navigate through these obstacles; he considers it a credit to the resourcefulness of Indigenous people that helps to explain their persistence through this dark chapter in Canadian history.

The book is not solely devoted to central Canada. It also includes an illuminating chapter on lacrosse and Indigenous nationhood on the West Coast, where it was also a vehicle for Indigenous self-assertion in the face of colonial oppression.

Downey elaborates upon the symbolic significance of lacrosse for Indigenous peoples, including the socio-political and spiritual centrality of the lacrosse stick as a focus of Indigenous craftsmanship. The stick's continuing importance is expressed in the modern-day Haudenosaunee practice of providing miniature wooden sticks to infants in their cradles.

The acceptance of the Six Nations' Iroquois Nationals team to compete in the 1990 International Lacrosse Federation World Games in Perth, Australia, was a milestone. The team adopted the imagery of the Hiawatha Wampum Belt, which had been repatriated from the New York State Museum at Albany, as its flag. This symbol of sovereignty and pride illustrated the continuing importance of lacrosse to Indigenous identity.

Downey's narrative culminates with the efforts of the Iroquois Nationals and the Haudenosaunee Nationals, a women's team, to travel to compete in international competitions using their own Indigenous passports. While not yet successful, these initiatives have been important steps in the affirmation of Indigenous nations' rights.

The book offers a good selection of historical photographs, including a panorama of an Indigenous lacrosse match that took place before a large Vancouver audience in 1911.

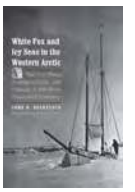
Downey describes the history of lacrosse as a "Trickster tale, full of anomalies, contradictions, and tricks." He displays considerable writing and interpretive talents in demonstrating the importance of the game for the history and identity of Indigenous peoples.

Despite attempts by the Canadian state to deny their rights, Indigenous peoples found ways to reimagine lacrosse as a counter-narrative of Indigenous nationhood that challenged the very state that appropriated the sport. It will be fascinating to follow this story as it continues to unfold.

Reviewed by **Lyle Dick**, the principal of Lyle Dick History and Heritage and a former president of the Canadian Historical Association (2011–13).

MORE BOOKS

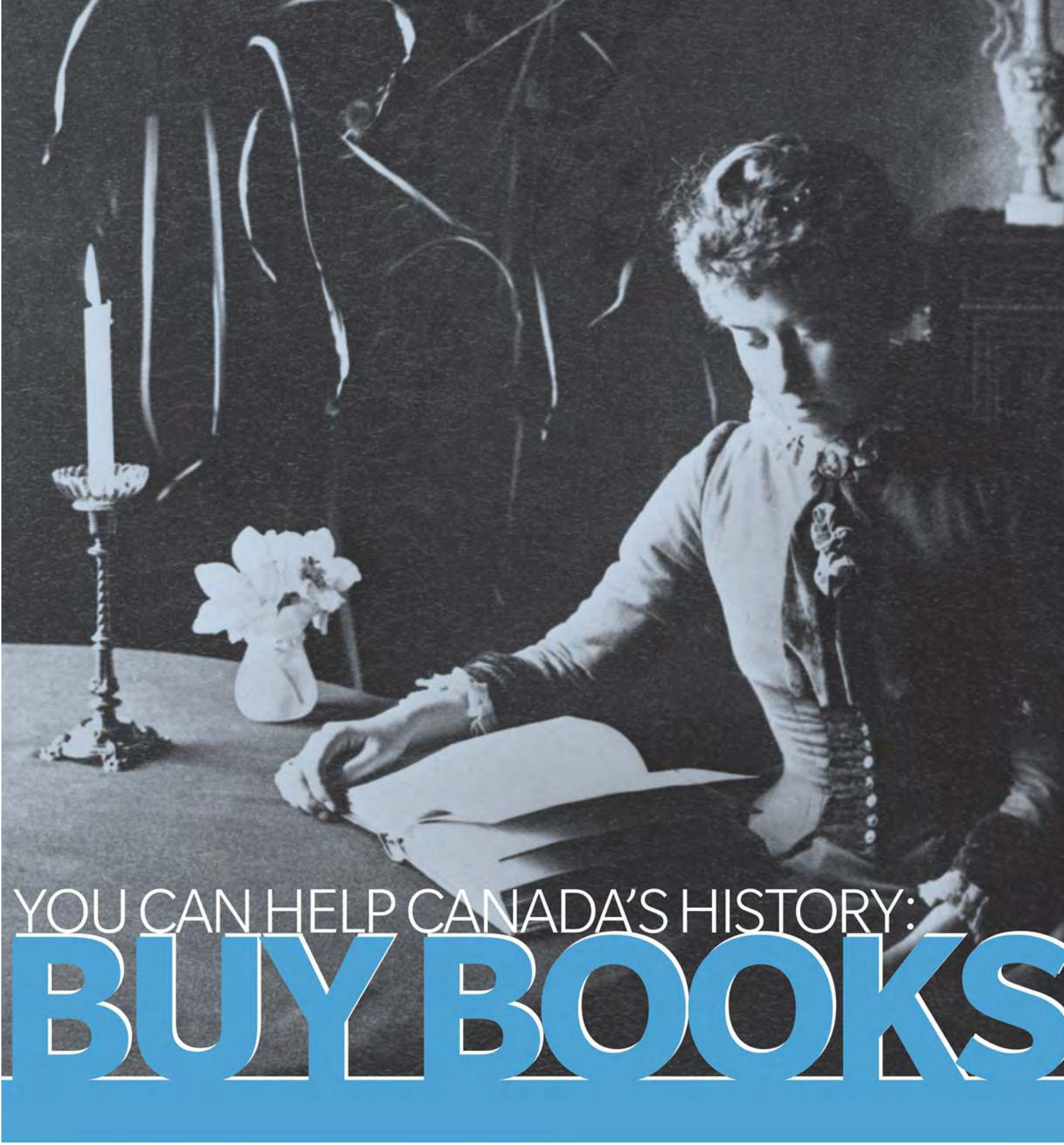
White Fox and Icy Seas in the Western Arctic: The Fur Trade, Transportation, and Change in the Early Twentieth Century
by John R. Bockstoce
Yale University Press, 343 pages, $52



John Bockstoce's *White Fox and Icy Seas in the Western Arctic* explores a period from the turn of the last century to the early 1930s, during which a flourishing trade in white fox furs led to economic boom times for trappers and traders in much of the Arctic. Fashion trends of the Edwardian era (1901 to 1910) led to what one observer called the "great age of fur display" when fox-fur wraps, coats, and stoles were all the rage.

This happened at the same time that another fashion trend — the whalebone corset — was on the decline, leading out-of-work Arctic whalers to switch to trapping. Those new to trapping faced a steep learning curve, as the white Arctic fox is a wily creature that is hard to trick. But the rewards were great. Some ambitious Indigenous trappers in the 1920s earned as much as eighteen thousand dollars in a year, at a time when most people in southern Canada were making about one thousand dollars annually.

Bockstoce is an independent American scholar who, during the 1970s and 1980s, spent his summers working on boats in the Arctic — including a ten-season stint with an Indigenous Alaskan whaling crew. This allowed him to interview many elders who had taken part in



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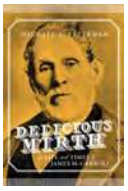
CANADA'S HISTORY

the heyday of the fox-fur trade.

While *White Fox and Icy Seas* is dense with detail, it presents a view that is not often expressed — that sometimes the Indigenous people of the North came out ahead in their dealings with southerners. Readers interested in the history of the Arctic will find much to ponder in this well-illustrated and engaging book. — *Nelle Oosterom*

Delicious Mirth: The Life and Times of James McCarroll
by Michael A. Peterman
McGill-Queen's University Press, 416 pages, $39.95



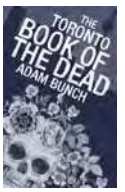
James McCarroll would have loved to bend your ear about one of his hobby horses, and chances are that you would enjoy listening to this flamboyant, opinionated Irishman. Celtic folk music, Irish politics, railways, governmental shortcomings — McCarroll had views on any subject of interest to nineteenth-century Upper Canadians. And his views were influential. He counted prominent politicians such as Thomas D'Arcy McGee among his friends.

McCarroll arrived on this continent from County Leitrim, Ireland, as a teenager with his Protestant family in 1831, and he tried several careers — including musician, shoemaker, and teacher — before focusing on his first love: writing. For four decades his poetry, humorous columns, essays, and editorials appeared regularly in small-town newspapers. When he wanted to be particularly sarcastic in his ad hominem attacks or political rants (he was a dedicated Reformer), McCarroll hid behind a pseudonym ("Terry Finnegan" was a favourite) and affected a broad Irish brogue.

Michael Peterman, a professor emeritus at Trent University and an authority on Susanna Moodie, first discovered McCarroll's writing while exploring nineteenth-century Canadian literary culture. He wondered why this colourful character had been largely forgotten.

As Peterman sleuthed through old newspapers, he realized that McCarroll's footprint had disappeared from history because of the pseudonyms, the lack of a coherent archive, and McCarroll's ignominious tumble into Fenianism in the late 1860s. But now, thanks to Peterman's careful research, McCarroll has been reinstated as an Irish-Canadian of wit and cultural significance. — *Charlotte Gray*

The Toronto Book of the Dead
by Adam Bunch
Dundurn Press, 424 pages, $16.99



When U.S. President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated while attending a theatre performance on April 14, 1865, his wife, Mary, was so distraught that she barricaded herself in the White House. The widow stayed there for weeks while Lincoln's funeral train travelled from Washington to Illinois and Americans gathered in a series of ceremonies to mourn the passing of their president.

When Mrs. Lincoln emerged from her cloud of grief, one of her first acts was to give Lincoln's famous shawl to his dear friend, Dr. Anderson Ruffin Abbott. Abbott was the first Black doctor born in Upper Canada and one of a thousand Black Canadians who enlisted in the Union Army during the American Civil War.

The story of President Lincoln and the Canadian doctor who stood vigil over his deathbed is just one of the lesser-known histories revealed in *The Toronto Book of the Dead* by Adam Bunch. The book — which can be read as a collection of short stories — tells the history of Toronto through the lens of death, whether by war, illness, accident, or disaster.

With stories that range from gruesome to heartbreaking, *The Toronto Book of the Dead* is an engaging and fascinating look into some of the darker moments of Toronto's past. — *Joanna Dawson*

A Chance to Fight Hitler: A Canadian Volunteer in the Spanish Civil War
by David Goutor
Between the Lines, 200 pages, $26.95

David Goutor's book *A Chance to Fight Hitler* explores the Spanish Civil War through the experience of Hans Ibing, a German-Canadian who immigrated to Canada in 1930 in search of a better life. He scraped by, working twelve-hour days, six days a week, as a delivery driver in Winnipeg during the Great Depression.

While at first apolitical, Ibing gradually drifted leftward and by 1935 was a member of the Communist Party of Canada. A year later, the Spanish Civil War broke out, and Ibing joined the nearly 1,700 volunteers from Canada who signed up with the International Brigades (affiliated with the Communist International) to fight against the Francisco Franco's Nationalists. As the title implies, Ibing's motivation was less about toeing the communist line and more about fighting fascism. (Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany supported the Nationalists.)

Goutor portrays Ibing, his wife's grandfather, as an ordinary, sensible, and good-hearted man. "Millions of people such as Ibing joined Communist organizations that took direction from outside their countries in order to resist the threat of fascism to civilized society everywhere," writes Goutor, who is a labour studies assistant professor at McMaster University.

Unfortunately, Ibing did not speak or write in much detail about his war experiences during his lifetime — he died in 2009 at age 101 — and Goutor often turns to other sources to flesh out what Ibing's experience in Spain may have been like. His book is nonetheless a readable, well-rounded account with good illustrations, and I found myself engaged in the story from beginning to end. — *Nelle Oosterom*

CANADA'S HISTORY

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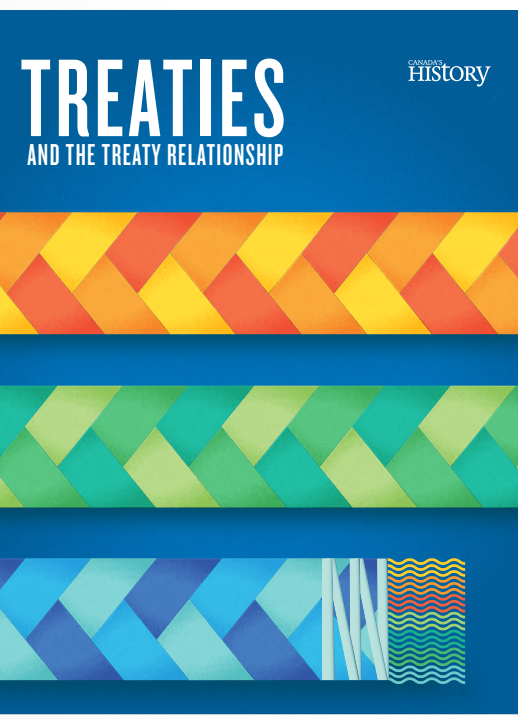
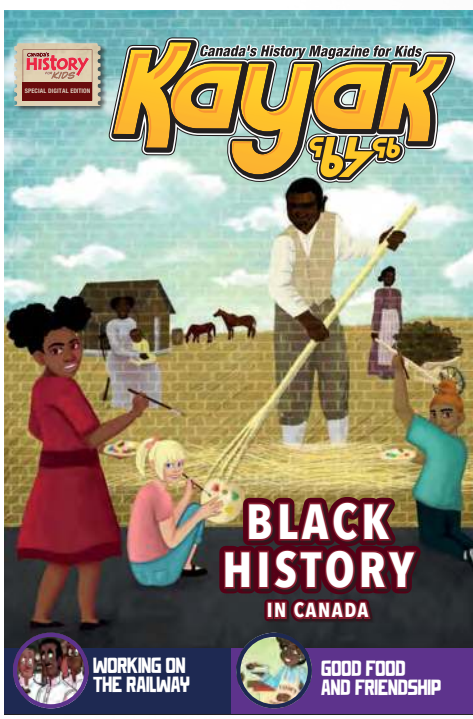
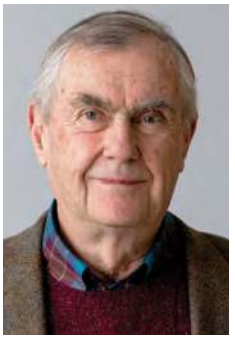




MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

Several years ago, in its Strategy to 2020, Canada's National History Society made a commitment to share stories of the experience of Canada and to encourage diverse perspectives.

We believed that a collaborative environment would help to inspire, celebrate, and give voice to the people and projects that advance learning about our history.



Michael Rea

We continue to connect with key communities and to navigate new territory in the world of publishing in print and online, with a special emphasis on engaging authentic Indigenous histories.

As we diversify the stories we tell, revenue sources begin to develop. Our success in 2018-19 reflects a growing specialty in enterprise publishing. Projects like *An Epic Tale* and *Treaties and the Treaty Relationship* showcased our ability to help other organizations tell their stories, and created new opportunities to collaborate with Governor General's History Award-winning educators and others to improve history education resources.

We are pleased to have established our first-ever endowed fund for young scholars, and we are continuing to attract the valued and generous support of major donors whose multi-year pledges in the company of *Adventurers* — expanding from Manitoba and Quebec to include Ontario and British Columbia — help make possible the stories you read and share today.

Our audience has expanded thanks to multiple digital platforms that offer thousands of stories and mass distribution of story packages, much of which is made possible thanks to the invaluable support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. We approach the centennial anniversary of *The Beaver* (now *Canada's History*) in 2020, knowing that history publishing and education initiatives have deepened connections with you, our readers.

On behalf of the national volunteer Board of Directors, I extend appreciation for your support and investment in Canada's History.

— Michael Rea

The 2018 Young Citizens recipients at the History Makers gala, held at the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa. From left, Rémi Ouellette, Shuyou Wen, Joshua Concepcion, Oscar Cormier, Basel Al Rashdan, and Kianna Lam.

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Canada's History Society was founded in 1994 to popularize Canadian history. The Society's work includes *Canada's History* magazine, CanadasHistory.ca, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, and the Governor General's History Awards.

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The Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation is the History Society's founding patron. It remains our largest private donor, providing an annual grant essential to supporting the delivery of our programs.

On the Cover:

Clockwise from top left: The 2018 Young Citizens winners; the June-July 2018 issue of *Canada's History* magazine; Sarah Pashagumskum and Abel Bosum accept the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Museums from Her Excellency, the Right Honourable Julie Payette, Governor General of Canada; participants explore the concept of historical significance in a group activity at the Historical Thinking Summer Institute; a special digital edition of *Kayak*; President and CEO of Canada's History Janet Walker skates on the rink at Rideau Hall; the *Treaties and the Treaty Relationship* special issue.

THIS PAGE LOWER LEFT: MATEA TUHTAR. COVER: MATEA TUHTAR, MCPL MATHIEU GAUDREAULT, RIDEAU HALL © OSGG, 2019; HEATHER MONTGOMERY; ERIC JACKMAN

The 2018 Governor General's History Awards took place at Rideau Hall in Ottawa. Back row, from left: Bill Waiser, Janet Walker, Elsbeth Heaman, Sergio Gutiérrez, Jean-Paul Guiard, Sarah Pashagumskum, Paul Paterson, Richard Pound, Lisa Howell, Maxine Hildebrandt, Lisl Gunderman, Temma Frecker, Eric Chassé, Jean-François Gosselin. Front row from left: Pat Watson, Deborah Dobbins, Shelby Lisk, Tehatsistahawi Kennedy, Her Excellency the Right Honourable Julie Payette, Governor General of Canada, Jared Boechler, Leah Baptiste, Kaira Picard, Jonathan Chassé.

HONOURING EXCELLENCE

On January 28, 2019, Her Excellency the Right Honourable Julie Payette presided over the 2018 Governor General's History Awards in a ceremony at Rideau Hall in Ottawa.

The Governor General's History Award recipients are champions of Canadian history — dedicated to a deeper and more complex understanding of the past and to applying our knowledge of the past to create more empathetic and inclusive communities.

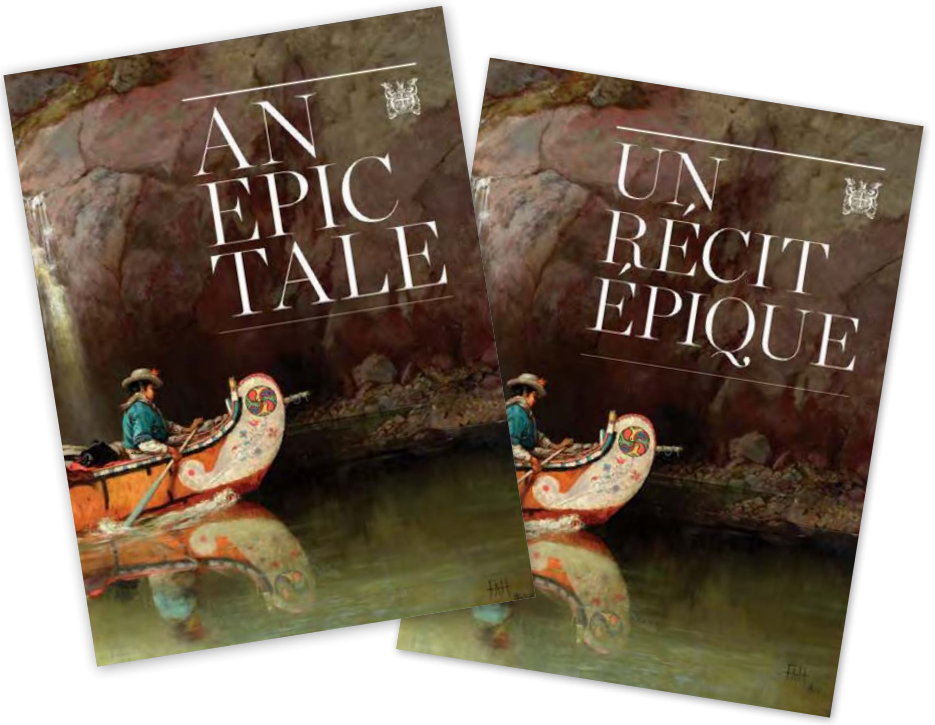
Among this year's recipients were Lisa Howell, whose Grade five and six students researched the history of First Nations health care. With the help of Indigenous elders and in collaboration with the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society and Health Canada, they produced a public service announcement about Jordan's Principle — a motion passed by the House of Commons in 2007 to ensure that First Nations children have equitable access to all government-funded services.

The Shiloh Centre for Multicultural Roots in Edmonton used the intimacy of video to document the experiences of four generations of African Americans who migrated from the United States to Western Canada. Historian Bill Waiser received the Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award for his over-thirty-year career as a writer, speaker, and professor. Waiser has published more than a dozen books; his *A World We Have Lost: Saskatchewan Before 1905* won the 2016 Governor General's Literary Award.

MC Sophie Fouron speaks at the History Makers gala in Ottawa.

The day prior to the ceremony, the award recipients shared their work at the Canada's History Forum at the Canadian War Museum. The day-long event, which was live-streamed and simultaneously translated, brought together historians, educators, museum curators, community leaders, and the public to encourage an exchange of ideas and to shape new thinking so that Canadian narratives can reach wider, more diverse audiences. The discussions helped to foster new connections among Canada's history community.

TOP: MCH, MATHIEU GAUDREAULT, RIDEAU HALL © OSGG, 2019; LOWER: ANDREW WORKMAN



SHARING SPECIAL STORIES

Canada's History was proud to work with the Hudson's Bay Company on a special publication that explores nearly three and a half centuries of HBC history.

An Epic Tale was written by *Canada's History* Editor-in-Chief Mark Collin Reid in collaboration with HBC, and published in both English and French. HBC was founded in 1670 and will celebrate its 350th anniversary in 2020.

An Epic Tale documents the company's long rise from a fur trading empire into an international retail icon. Fifty thousand copies were published in English and a further five thousand copies were published in French to be distributed for free by HBC for educational purposes.

Canada's History magazine shares a nearly century-long connection with HBC: *The Beaver* magazine (renamed *Canada's History* magazine in 2010) was founded by HBC in 1920 as part of the company's 250th anniversary celebrations.

Through its history foundation, HBC provides ongoing funding for Canada's History and in 2017 helped to fund the Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, a digital database of back issues.

AWARD-WINNING KIDS CONTENT

It was an exciting and humbling year for *Kayak*, our publication for children seven to twelve years old. We produce four print issues and one free digital issue — with accompanying classroom material in English and French — every year.

Our 2018 digital classroom issue, "Black History in Canada," was co-edited by Natasha Henry, an educator, historian, curriculum consultant, and president of the Ontario Black History Association.

The publication was named the best consumer magazine — for any age group — at the 2018 Canadian Online Publishing Awards.

The print magazines covered themes ranging from the history of work and workers and the development and impact of the railways through to Canadian art and our favourite ways to relax.

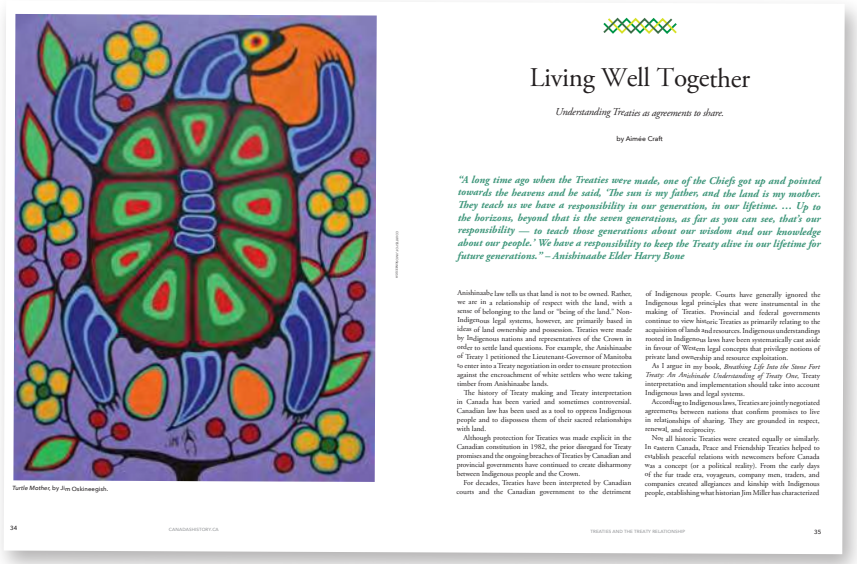
Brooke Campbell, left, and Dorothy Hollingsworth.

ANDREW WORKMAN

ENGAGING NEW SCHOLARS

Brooke Campbell, the inaugural Nobleman Scholar, recently completed a successful term working for Canada's History, supporting its publishing, education and recognition programs. Campbell continues to work for Canada's History as a program coordinator based out of Calgary.

Dorothy Hollingsworth established the Nobleman Scholars program to honour her husband, William (Bill) Nobleman, a founding director of Canada's National History Society who passed away in 2016. The scholarship program will provide annual paid internships to students in the master of public history program at Western University.



Turtle Mother, by Jim Oskineegish.

Living Well Together

Understanding Treaties as agreements to share.

by Aimée Craft

"A long time ago when the Treaties were made, one of the Chiefs got up and pointed towards the heavens and he said, "The sun is my father, and the land is my mother. They teach us we have a responsibility in our generation, in our lifetime. … Up to the horizons, beyond that is the seven generations, as far as you can see, that's our responsibility — to teach those generations about our wisdom and our knowledge about our people.' We have a responsibility to keep the Treaty alive in our lifetime for future generations." – Anishinaabe Elder Harry Bone

Anishinaabe law tells us that land is not to be owned. Rather, we are in a relationship of respect with the land, with a sense of belonging to the land or "being of the land." Non-Indigenous legal systems, however, are primarily based in ideas of land ownership and possession. Treaties were made by Indigenous nations and representatives of the Crown in order to settle land questions. For example, the Anishinaabe of Treaty 1 petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba to enter into a Treaty negotiation in order to ensure protection against the encroachment of white settlers who were taking timber from Anishinaabe lands.

The history of Treaty making and Treaty interpretation in Canada has been varied and sometimes controversial. Canadian law has been used as a tool to oppress Indigenous people and to dispossess them of their sacred relationships with land.

Although protection for Treaties was made explicit in the Canadian constitution in 1982, the prior disregard for Treaty promises and the ongoing breaches of Treaties by Canadian and provincial governments have continued to create disharmony between Indigenous people and the Crown.

For decades, Treaties have been interpreted by Canadian courts and the Canadian government to the detriment of Indigenous people. Courts have generally ignored the Indigenous legal principles that were instrumental in the making of Treaties. Provincial and federal governments continue to view historic Treaties as primarily relating to the acquisition of lands and resources. Indigenous understandings rooted in Indigenous law have been systematically cast aside in favour of Western legal concepts that privilege notions of private land ownership and resource exploitation.

As I argue in my book, *Breathing Life Into the Stone Fort Treaty: An Anishinaabe Understanding of Treaty One*, Treaty interpretation and implementation should take into account Indigenous laws and legal systems.

According to Indigenous laws, Treaties are jointly negotiated agreements between nations that confirm promises to live in relationships of sharing. They are grounded in respect, renewal, and reciprocity.

Not all historic Treaties were created equally or similarly. In Eastern Canada, Peace and Friendship Treaties helped to establish peaceful relations with newcomers before Canada was a concept (or a political reality). From the early days of the fur trade era, voyageurs, company men, traders, and companies created allegiances and kinship with Indigenous people, establishing what historian Jim Miller has characterized

CANADASHISTORY.CA

TREATIES AND THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP

34

35

TALKING TREATIES

The Treaty relationship between First Nations and the Crown is fundamental when it comes to understanding Canada's history.

With this in mind, both *Canada's History* magazine and *Kayak: Canada's History for Kids* published special issues, in English and in French, on the history of Treaties in Canada.

Treaties and the Treaty Relationship was co-edited by Loretta Ross, Treaty Commissioner of Manitoba, and featured stories by Indigenous authors, scholars, and elders. More than 125,000 complimentary copies have been distributed to Indigenous communities, subscribers, museums, heritage organizations, RCMP detachments, journalism schools, post-secondary institutions, and via French-language community newspapers.

Kayak, meanwhile, devoted its September 2018 issue to Treaties and Treaty-making, under the guidance of co-editor Cynthia Bird of Peguis First Nation in Manitoba. The issue was titled "We are all Treaty people." More than 19,500 copies were published in English and nearly 35,000 in French, with digital copies available online. All of the illustrators (with the exception of the *Kayak*'s long-time comic creator) were First Nations or Métis. To read digital versions of the special issues, go to: CanadasHistory.ca/Teaching-Treaties.

Loretta Ross

The special Treaties issues of *Kayak* and *Canada's History* were each published in English and in French.

CANADA'S HISTORY BY THE NUMBERS

1.4 MILLION

Print and digital audience of Canada's History.

536,000

Number of millennials included in Canada's History's print and digital audience.

56%

Percentage of readers in households with children under eighteen years old.

1920

The year *The Beaver*, now *Canada's History* magazine, was founded.

186

Number of Governor General's History Award recipients to date.

12,000+

Number of visitors who accessed Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver* since its launch in late 2017.

Above: Historical Thinking Summer Institute (HTSI) participants visit the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa to learn about visual thinking strategies in history and art.

Left: Participants explore the concept of historical significance in a group activity at the HTSI.

SUPPORTING EDUCATORS AND STUDENTS

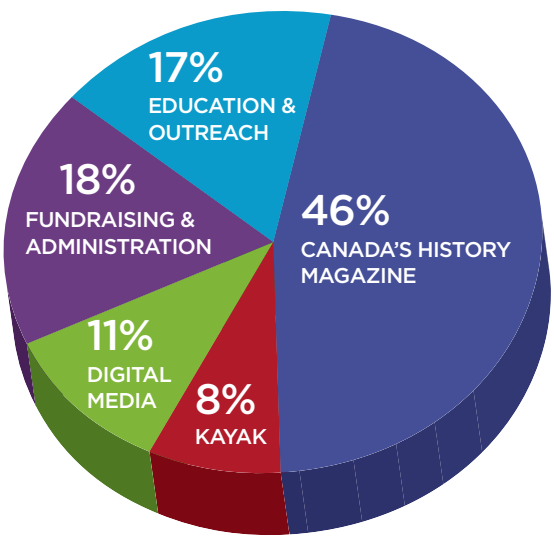
In July, Canada's History and the Canadian Museum of History hosted the 2018 Historical Thinking Summer Institute in Ottawa.

This was a five-day intensive professional-development event for teachers, museum educators, and resource providers looking to embed the historical thinking concepts into their work. The lead instructors were Lindsay Gibson and Carla Peck (University of Alberta), Catherine Duquette (Université du Québec à Chicoutimi), and Heather Montgomery (Bank of Canada Museum).

For the first time, the summer institute was offered in English and in French, thanks to support from the Molson Foundation. This was an innovation for the program and an exciting opportunity for francophone and anglophone teachers to participate in professional development together.

Following the event, we hosted a national meeting of history educators. Forty participants from all provinces and territories came together for a rare face-to-face meeting to discuss challenges and opportunities for national-level history programming in Canada.

CANADA'S HISTORY NATIONAL PROGRAM EXPENSES



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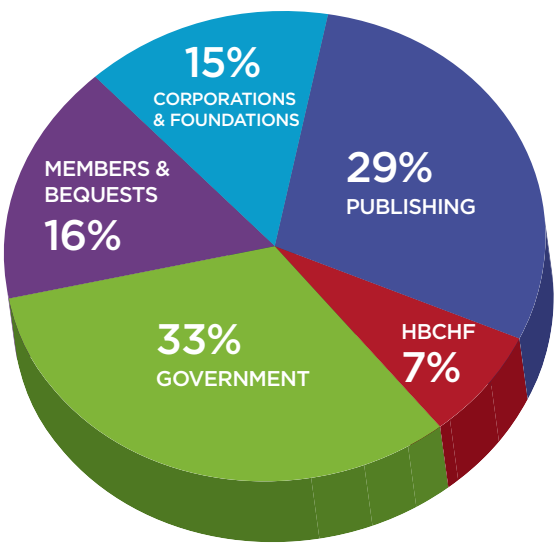

HEATHER MONTGOMERY

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CANADA'S HISTORY

Day at the lake

This photo has been in our family for more than a century. It was taken in the summer of 1917 at Rossclair, a modest hotel on Lake Muskoka, in the heart of Ontario's summer resort country, where my maternal grandfather, Frank Stanley, had taken his family for vacation.

In those days, getting to Muskoka, roughly two hundred kilometres north of Toronto, was no mean feat. They would first have taken the Grand Trunk Railway (later the Canadian National Railway) from Toronto to Gravenhurst at the south end of Lake Muskoka.

From there they would have boarded a Muskoka Lakes Navigation Company steamboat for Rossclair, one of numerous resorts then being erected along lakefronts to serve the area's burgeoning tourist population. The hotels were wooden, and most, including Rossclair, have long since burned to the ground.

In this photo my grandfather and my grandmother, Maud, are arranged with their five children in order of height. My Uncle Alf stands behind my grandfather, and my mother, Grace, is behind my grandmother, followed by Garton, Marian, and Frank. They're all in their summer best — perhaps dressed for church, but I'm not certain about this.

Submitted by Gerald Crawford of Mississauga, Ontario. Frank and Maud Stanley were his grandparents.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

OUR PAST SHAPES OUR FUTURE • NOTRE PASSÉ TRANSFORME NOTRE FUTUR •

CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA'S HISTORY · HISTOIRE CANADA · Kayak

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